

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICA

MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE.

EDITED

BY

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VOL. IV.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:
LONGMAN & Co., AND TRÜBNER & Co., PATERNOSTER ROW;
ALSO BY PARKER & Co., OXFORD;
MACMILLAN & Co., CAMBRIDGE;
A. & C. BLACK, EDINBURGH; AND A. THOM, DUBLIN.

1871.

Printed by
EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE, Her Majesty's Printers.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

The concluding portion of the Chronicle to be most certainly attributed to Roger Hoveden.

THE reputation of Roger of Hoveden as an independent historian rests almost entirely on the last of the four divisions into which, in the earlier volumes of this edition, his chronicle has been resolved. This division extends from the spring of the year 1192 to the winter of the year 1201, and fills the latter half of the third and the whole of the present fourth volume. It may be as well to remind the reader that the only one of the earlier divisions, the authorship of which cannot be certainly accounted for otherwise than by ascribing it to Hoveden, the portion that extends from 1148 to 1169, covers a period too remote from the date at which the work assumed its present form, to allow any special value to be ascribed to the personal recollections of the writer, even supposing that writer to have been Hoveden; whilst it is not by any means improbable that in the general search for historical manuscripts which is now being carried on, some materials may be discovered which will account quite differently for the original authorship of the second, as certainly as has been already done for that of the first and third divisions of the work. It is not, however, at all likely that such will be the case with the fourth division. If Roger of Hoveden wrote anything at all, and if the consensus of the many existing manuscripts which ascribe the finished work to him, has any real value and significance, the history of the latter years of Richard and the earlier ones of John must be referred to him as author.

Roger's personal history serves to confirm his title to the authorship.

And this conclusion is supported by the little, very little indeed it is, that can be ascertained of his personal history. His position as a clerk or chaplain of Henry II., his connexion with the north of England, his employment as a justice of the forests, his probable connexion with the town of Howden, and through it with the see of Durham and the family of Hugh de Puiset,—that is, all that can be said to be known about him during the years that are the subject of the latter portion of the chronicle,—will be found to agree very well with the hypothesis that ascribes to him the authorship of a work of which so large a part is devoted to the history of the see of York, in which so much prominence is given to the fortunes of the bishop of Durham and his family, and in which the few local and incidental notices that are peculiar to it belong so frequently to the neighbourhood from which the supposed writer took his name.[1]

It may further be said that these few points not only are all that can be guessed about Roger of Hoveden, but touch very nearly everything that is distinctive in the chronicle. The abundant supply of valuable public documents is just what might be expected in a compilation made by a clerk of the king's court. The special fulness of the articles connected with the forest jurisdiction is in complete accord with the fact that the chronicler was a justice of the forests; his severity in remarking on the cruelty of that jurisdiction,[2] if we consider that it becomes apparent at the time at which he is known to have ceased to hold the office of justice, is rather confirmative of the hypothesis than inconsistent with it; and the same may be said of the occasional sharpness with which he rebukes the secular employ-

[1] See preface to vol. i. pp. xiii–xxv.

[2] Vol. iv. pp. 62, 63.

ments of the superior clergy.[1] If more were known of Hoveden's life, it would doubtless be possible to discover in similar small coincidences additional grounds for maintaining his title to the authorship.

Inference from the glimpses of personal character to be discovered in the book.

Where so little that is certain can be advanced, it may seem unwise to rely on inferences; but the same conclusion does seem to be drawn from a consideration of the few places in which the writer or compiler allows a glimpse of his personal character to be caught. The only note of character in the book is that tendency to the marvellous on which remark has been made more than once in the prefaces to the earlier volumes.[2] This note, which in a mediæval historian is, of course, far from being a striking peculiarity, will be found on examination to mark a sort of unity in the method of treatment apparent throughout the work, and further to localize the authorship. The hand that introduced into the matter of fact story of the Durham and Worcester annalists, the miracles of Edward the Confessor,[3] that struck at every opportunity the string of the miraculous apparent in the story of the martyr of Canterbury, that added new terrors and horrors to the sins and mysteries of the emperor Henry V.,[4] is doubtless the same that reported, on the authority of abbot Eustace, the neglected warning sent to Henry II. when he spared the heretics of Guienne,[5] and that placed amongst the most precious recollections of contemporary history the miracles wrought by the same abbot Eustace in support of his preaching of the sanctity of the Lord's day.[6] This spirit of credulity marks some of the most important additions made in this compilation to the

[1] See, for instance, with regard to archbishop Geoffrey, vol. iii. pp. 240, 274; and with regard to Hubert Walter, vol. iv. pp. 90, 91.

[2] See preface to vol. i. p. xxxvi.; vol. ii. pp. xx, liii., &c.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 108–111.

[4] Vol. i. pp. 163, 181.

[5] Vol. ii. pp. 272, 273.

[6] Vol. iv. pp. 76, 123, 124, 167–172.

The credulity of the writer characterizes and localizes him.

earlier writers; it runs through the whole work, and is indeed the only characteristic of the kind that does so; it increases in intensity in the fourth and last portion; and in its fullest development localizes the writer in the neighbourhood of Howden, and the adjoining parts of Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire. The argument may be taken for what it is worth. If the question be put, Are we to regard the consensus of the manuscripts as to Hoveden's authorship conclusive, or is the certainty that he was not the original author of the first and third divisions to afford a ground for disbelieving that he wrote the fourth? it may be safely advanced, in support of the evidence of the manuscripts, that there is a distinct mark of unity of manipulation throughout, that that mark is more distinct than elsewhere in the fourth portion, and that it not only serves to determine the unity of the compiler, but to fix definitively the place in which we are to look for him, as the town which gives name to the reputed author in the most authoritative manuscripts. Simply stated, it is a presumption that Roger of Hoveden compiled the whole book, and that the latter portion is more peculiarly his own.

Instances of this credulity.

A brief recapitulation of the passages which convey this impression will be sufficient. The only important addition made by Hoveden to the "Historia post Bedam" or "Liber Dunelmensis," on which the first portion of the work is based, is the account of the visions and miracles of Edward the Confessor.[1] The minor additions are, however, marked by a similar motive, the grant of Brakenholm and Hemmingburgh to Durham, an abstract of which is given,[2] is plainly regarded as suggested by the miraculous panic of William the Conqueror when outraging the relics of S. Cuthbert; the charter of archbishop Thomas inserted under the year 1083 [3]

[1] Vol. i. pp. 108–111.
[2] Vol. i. p. 127.
[3] Vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

Credulity apparent in the writer's special additions on Yorkshire affairs, in the first part of the work.

was also the result of a vision of S. Cuthbert and a miraculous cure that followed it; the passages touching the filial impiety and disappearance of Henry V. tell the same tale;[1] the story of the sickness and death of archbishop Thomas II.,[2] whilst it is probably true, is of a character specially dear to the professional hagiographer. These passages, with the exception of the particulars about Henry V., have a local bearing as well. Hemmingburgh and Brakenholm were attached to the see of Durham by a similar tie to that of Howden itself; the result of archbishop Thomas I.'s vision was to liberate the Yorkshire churches appurtenant to the see of Durham from the usual exactions, and of these Howden was one; the death of Thomas II. took place at Beverley.

Instances from the second portion.

In the second portion of the work it may suffice to point out the fact that the only transactions which are dwelt on with any detail are those connected with Thomas Becket, who had, before the work was undertaken, arrived at the full dimensions of the popular saint of the day. The general tenour of the history appears indeed to be modified by the writer's prepossessions as a courtier; but the archbishop's escape from Northampton castle is expressly referred to a special providence,[3] and in the relation of the martyrdom and the events that preceded it, the additions to the simpler story of the earlier biographers have a special colouring. The supernatural warning vouchsafed to Becket at Sens,[4] the story of the water changed to wine at the pope's table,[5] the revelation to S. Godric of Finchale, on the the day of the murder,[6] and the record, probably entirely unhistorical, of the fate of the murderers,[7] which are, strictly speaking, additions by Hoveden to the text of

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[1] Vol. i. pp. 163, 181.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 168, 169.

[3] Vol. i. p. 229.

[4] Vol. ii. pp. 10, 11.

[5] Vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.

[6] Vol. ii. pp. 16, 17. This instance is important also as touching chronology. See the note at the place, and below, p. xxvi.

[7] Vol. ii. p. 17.

Instances of pious credulity.

Benedict, illustrate the view which twenty years after the event commended itself to our author. So large a portion of the second division of the work is taken up with letters to and from the saint that further examination is needless.

Instances from the third portion of the work.

In the third portion of the chronicle, the following additions to Benedict, over and above those connected with the martyrdom, illustrate this point: the story of the captured hare, which, on Henry's landing in Ireland, presaged his victory over the natives;[1] the additional details of Henry's Canterbury pilgrimage in 1174;[2] the vision of Walter, the servant of Eustace of Flay,[3] already referred to; the story of the woman in labour succoured by the devil, which may possibly be the origin of the proverb applied to the birth of illegitimate children, that the devil is the best midwife;[4] the vision of the gigantic expansion of the cross at the battle of Ramlah;[5] the reference, in recording the burial of Henry II., to the prophecy that he should "be veiled "among the veiled women;"[6] the additions to the conversation of Richard and Joachim on the Apocalypse,[7] of the life of Antichrist by Adso,[8] and the curious article on the same subject falteringly ascribed to S. Gregory.[9]

In the fourth division.

In the last division of the work the following cases call for special remark: the judgments that fell upon duke Leopold of Austria are traced to his misconduct towards Richard I.; an idea common, as is the language in which the story is told, to William of Newburgh and Ralph of Coggeshale;[10] the story of the Cross of S. Mar-

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[1] Vol. ii. p. 29.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 62.

[3] Vol. ii. pp. 272, 273.

[4] Vol. ii. 302, 303.

[5] Vol. ii. pp. 132, 133.

[6] The story of the prophecy is given by Benedict, ii. 55; Hoveden, ii. 356; the fulfilment by Hoveden only, ii. 367. He uses the same form in reference to the burial of queen Johanna, vol. iv. p. 96.

[7] Vol. iii. pp. 77–79.

[8] Vol. iii. pp. 80–85.

[9] Vol. iii. pp. 85, 86.

[10] Vol. iii. pp. 274–278.

Miraculous stories in the concluding portion of the chronicle.

tial at Poictiers weeping on the death of William Longchamp;[1] the unquestioning credit given to the posthumous miracles of bishop William of Poictiers,[2] whose life, as the historian specially mentions, had been very reprehensible in the sight of men; the revolting miracle wrought on the German crusader who had murdered his comrade;[3] the agony of the cross in the cathedral of Dublin at the injuries inflicted on archbishop Cumin;[4] the story of demoniacal possession in the neighbourhood of Genoa, which, however, may be true in the main, although scarcely probable in detail;[5] the account of the miracles of Fulk of Neuilly, in connexion with which occurs the well-known story of his personal attack on Richard's vices;[6] and his supernatural escapes from prison;[7] the prohibition by a divine oracle addressed to William the Lion at Dunfermline, which prevented him from invading England in 1199;[8] the long details of the visits of Eustace of Flay to England in 1200 and 1201,[9] with the curious miracles wrought in confirmation of his teaching; the two extraordinary stories of the supernatural occurrences at the funeral of S. Hugh of Lincoln;[10] one, the recovery of sight by a woman blind of one eye, a cure too common to be regarded as a miracle; the other wrought on a cutpurse who found himself suddenly paralyzed and irresistibly compelled to spout Latin verses; the vision of dean Rolleston of Lincoln, a fortnight after the death of S. Hugh, which seems to have helped to bring about its own fulfilment;[11] the announcement of the liberation of Satan in the year 1201;[12] and, last and most signal as an instance, the report of the visit of abbot Eustace to Yorkshire, and of his mira-

[1] Vol. iv. p. 17.
[2] Vol. iv. p. 24.
[3] Vol. iv. pp. 26, 27.
[4] Vol. iv. pp. 29, 30.
[5] Vol. iv. pp. 67, 68.
[6] Vol. iv. p. 76.
[7] Vol. iv. p. 77.
[8] Vol. iv. p. 100.
[9] Vol. iv. pp. 123, 124, 167–172.
[10] Vol. iv. pp. 143, 144.
[11] Vol. iv. pp. 145, 146.
[12] Vol. iv. pp. 161, 162.

Curious stories localizing the author.

cles wrought at Beverley, Nafferton, and Wakefield.[1] This, which is far the most extraordinary illustration of superstitious credulity in the whole work, occurs very nearly at the close of it; and the scenes of it lie within reach of Howden.

Inferences.

Such are the grounds, affording basis for something more than a presumption, of the hypothesis which I have stated above. They are indeed slight in themselves, nor do they serve to do more than establish a difference in character between Hoveden and the writer whose work he was continuing. That earlier writer is singularly free from the gossiping credulity which is common to the writers of the period, even to those who, like Walter de Mapes and Giraldus Cambrensis, might be supposed too well acquainted with the process of fabricating myths to be easily imposed on by the vulgar retailer of miracles. Here, however, we have to contrast Hoveden, not with the general run of the writers of his time, but with this one in particular. The vestiges of this common tendency in our author's treatment lead the way to a further and more important question.

Contrast between Roger and his predecessor.

How far the narration of miracles affects the credibility of the narrator.

The question how far does the recording of supernatural visions and miracles affect the general credibility of the authors who report them, is one which concerns to a very considerable extent mediæval history in general. The day is happily past when such stories were regarded as consciously purposed impostures; we can now afford to look upon them as part of the current popular belief in a majority of the races and generations of the world, and that in so great a degree that the authenticity of a writer might fairly be doubted, who was alleged as a mediæval historian and did not relate mediæval wonders. And this remark applies not merely to religious or ecclesiastical miracles, but to such portents as the green children who emerged from fairy land into

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 167–172.

East Anglia,[1] and the discovery of living dogs and toads in hermetically sealed beds of rock.[2] If William of Newburgh, the most independent thinker in the whole list of our mediæval historians, found himself compelled by the mass of evidence laid before him, and by the authority of his witnesses, to accord a reluctant belief to such prodigies, we can scarcely wonder that the ordinary chronicler relating what from day to day reached his ear and seemed worth recording, should report constantly the occurrence of events which he, in common with the whole of his contemporaries, believed to be special interpositions of Divine Providence. The age of Hoveden believed in the constant infraction, by Divine authority, of the ordinary processes of the course of this world, for the purpose of honouring the relics of a large number of saints and martyrs, and of benefiting the poor and sick, clearing the character of the innocent accused, or protesting against the wickedness of the times, by the overflow as it were of the benignant influences of those holy persons. How such a state of belief came to be usual it is not our place now to inquire; it must be granted that it did prevail, and whilst such occurrences were sufficiently far removed from ordinary experience to compel notice, little misgiving was felt as to the genuineness of the relation, and no doubt entertained as to the origin of the interposition. Further than this, the belief in this constant exercise of miraculous power was closely connected with the habit of referring everything of the nature of unexpected coincidence to the same sort of special providence. Owing to this interpretation, great numbers of events and phænomena are included in the class of miracles, which are capable of simple explanation, or suggestive of much more familiar agencies than the special exertion of Divine power. And of course it fol-

Prevalence of belief in miraculous stories.

Coincidences commonly regarded as supernatural.

[1] Will. Newb., lib. i. cap. 27.

[2] Will. Newb., lib. i. cap. 28.

lows that where every unexpected coincidence is regarded as miraculous and contributes its quota of verisimilitude to the general stock of wonders, a large number of stories that are not to be so easily explained, gains a credence to which by itself it has no such title.

The good faith of a writer impaired only when he declares himself an eyewitness of an impossible event.

The common sense of mankind will, I think, sanction this rule, that the general good faith of a historical writer is not impaired by his recording prodigies which were believed in his own days, except where he professes himself to have witnessed events which we believe to be impossible. But the question concerns more than general good faith; it affects his general credibility; we require in him not merely honesty but discernment, and ask not simply did he believe what he wrote down, but was his judgment sound enough to make his ordinary narration trustworthy, or were his opportunities of gaining information so good that only common honesty was needed to qualify him for the character of a historian?

More than good faith requisite for credibility.

Deeply rooted prevalence of superstition.

Any one who has ever in personal experience struck across the deep and secret vein of popular belief in witchcraft, or who has watched the more refined circles of so-called spiritualism, will allow that neither natural shrewdness and simplicity, nor thorough honesty, nor enlightened education, is an effective hindrance to the belief in the frequent occurrence of events that the great majority of educated men regard as incredible, or in the reference to supernatural power, of phænomena which no small portion of that majority considers to be the result of imposture. The ploughboy who loses his watch applies to the wise woman to consult the stars on his behalf, or to furnish a spell to enchant the thief. The thief fearing to fall under the influence of the charm restores the stolen treasure. No one doubts the truth of the relation which may be easily tested; the very belief in the powers of the witch has wrought the result, which

spreads through the country side, and bases on ascertainable fact, a doctrine which neither priest nor schoolmaster can overthrow. The mediæval habit of referring such things to miracle is at the least less degrading than the modern belief in witchcraft or necromancy; doubtless where there was conscious imposture the sin was proportionably greater; but where there was not, the devout simplicity of the vulgar mind, the unquestioning belief in ever-present benignant influences mistakenly identified, is worthy of compassionate pity rather than of contempt. It must be remembered that in many of the branches of knowledge the mind of a monk of the twelfth century was not in any respect better furnished than that of a modern rustic[1]. His experience of the world was as narrow, his power of discriminating between coincidences and prodigies as limited, his ability of weighing evidence on the subject of physical phænomena not more exercised. When we deal with secular writers such as Roger of Hoveden was, we find a greater weight of experience and more critical power than in a monk of the common type, but it may be doubted whether in matters of this special character the ordinary twelfth century clerk rose beyond the level of the village politician of the present day, who on the authority of his weekly newspaper gives the same credit to the quack advertisement or the gigantic gooseberry as to the telegraphed report of the Queen's speech.

Comparison of modern with mediæval forms.

But the mediæval miracle itself is not an easy matter to dispose of. Those cases, in the first place, which belong to the class of visions, such as, to take an example from our author, the appearance of the Blessed Virgin

Difficulty of the question of mediæval miracles.

[1] Three workmen are stifled in cleaning out an old well. William of Newburgh conjectures that there was a vein of quicksilver or some other noxious substance running through the soil, lib. v. cap. 34; for the stifling of three men who went down into a pit in a lime kiln the writer can give no reason whatever.

Visions reputed miraculous not incredible.

to the Crusaders,[1] or the miraculous warning of the death of Henry's sons,[2] must at once be set by themselves. They are beyond the pale of ordinary experience, but they are not incredible as facts and impressions. A man highly excited by the work on which he is engaged, thinking by day and by night of the blessings that his exertions on behalf of Christendom are earning for him, may have, especially whilst watching and fasting, come into such a state of mind that his dreams are full of the subject of his waking thoughts, and as vivid and impressive as waking visions could be. He dreams on board his ship of the appearance of his patron saint, S. Thomas, S. Nicolas, or S. Edmund;[3] or he gazes upon the crucifix until the awful figure seems to smile.[4] He has seen what he believes to be a miracle; specially favoured, he would be a traitor to his faith if he did not publish it. It is recorded, and the miracle propagates; it suggests the very details of prodigies that constantly repeat themselves. In this case the error, if there be an error, is not in the belief of the fact, but in the interpretation. And so wide is the applicability of this principle, that it will be found to cover all cases of mediæval visions which are not compromised by distinct attempts at prophecy, and such attempts are extremely rare. It cannot be safely taken for granted that the stories of such visions are false merely because they are improbable to our minds; nor can the historian who records them be contemned either as over-credulous or dishonest, so long as he contents himself with the record.

Exception in the case of distinct prophecy.

Cures reputed miraculous.

A second large class of mediæval miracles deals with the cures of disease; and of these, exclusive of the considerable majority in which blindness or disease of the eye is healed, the largest number may be said to consist

[1] Vol. iii. pp. 119, 120.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 273, 356.

[3] Vol. iii. pp. 42, 43.

[4] Or to bow, as in the Waltham story of Harold; *De Inventione S. Crucis*, cap. 20.

of the cures of nervous complaints, or of those in which the state of the nerves very much affects the part diseased, such as toothache and the like. Unquestionably a large number of cures may be accounted for simply on the ground of the faith of the patient in the remedy applied;[1] a fact which is exemplified in the case of quack medicines at the present day by the testimonials printed by way of advertisement in the papers. Of many of these it may, I believe, safely be affirmed that the ingredients are on analysis found to contain nothing more directly addressed to the remedy of the complaint cured, than were the blood and water furnished by the monks of Canterbury to the pilgrims of S. Thomas. Every such cure would go to swell the long list of miracles and strengthen the faith of successive generations of pilgrims. Cases in which the remedy failed, or the disease returned as soon as the momentary effort was relaxed, would not be recorded, or recorded only as demonstrating the patient's want of faith.[2] Where every one afflicted with neuralgia had recourse to a relic, every one who recovered from it would naturally ascribe his cure to the relic. Here, then, there is no question as to the facts, only as to the connexion between them.

Cures of nervous complaints.

Analogy of quack medicines.

Failures ignored.

Universality of use of relics.

It is probable that an analogous theory might be stated plausibly to account for the great number of cures of blindness which are on record;[3] such, for instance,

Cures of blindness.

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[1] The recorder of the Canterbury miracles (Benedictus, ed. Giles) gives a case in which a boy was deceived into cure of acute pain by drinking water which was given him as "aqua sancti," that is, water in which the rags of S. Thomas's dress had been washed; the water being really from the nearest well. Lib. iii. c. 46.

[2] The Canterbury writer does record occasionally such failures of miracle; lib. i. cap. 40, 41. In these two cases the failure is marked by a vision, in which the saint assures the patient that he shall not be cured.

[3] Forty such, if not more, are recorded among the Canterbury miracles; considerably more than a seventh part of the whole number.

Cures of blindness reputed miraculous.

as those in which a patient partially blind has persuaded himself that he is entirely so, or in which the remedies used for curing the blindness of one eye have had the effect of producing a morbid sympathy in the other; or in which the strong effort made on faith in the relic has nerved the patient to realize that he was not so blind as he thought he was, and the discovery has itself been regarded as the miracle; but it is needless to dwell on this, because in alleged cases of blindness very considerable allowance must be made for imposture, pretended disease and pretended cure. The opinion of the age set a premium on the reception of miraculous operation. The man who had been cured of blindness by a visit to the shrine of a saint would be popularly regarded as a special object of Divine care, and as such would be able to rely for the rest of his life on the charities of the monasteries, or on the piety of the devout. The practice of pilgrimage opened the way for successful mendicancy. Here again the miracle would be recorded, whilst the imposture was unsuspected; the detection of the imposture in but few cases out of the many would reach the ears of the registrar of miracles. There are, of course, other cases in which the cures may be ascribed to mere natural causes, such as the change of air and food, or the exhaustion of the disease, or its intermittent character. Complaints dependent on digestion,[1] fevers, ague, and even rheumatism, which we may safely argue was occasionally described as paralysis, and diseases of the skin, would fall under this head.

Coincidences reputed miraculous.

A third class of miracles is that in which results perfectly natural are recorded as supernatural because they have struck the imagination of the reporter as illustrative of a special providence. A candle at the shrine of S. Thomas is extinguished, and the gaseous

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[1] A good instance will be found in a story told of a man named Edmund, *De Mirac. S. Thom.*, lib. i. cap. 33.

smoke instantly catches fire again from the other lights close to it;[1] the wooden boxes filled with the water in which the martyr's rags have been washed burst with the heat of the bearer, or absorb the liquid, and are found empty;[2] a draught of the same liquid has the effect of an emetic, and produces a discharge of cherry-stones; a child remembers in a dream where he has placed the cheese which he has mislaid;[3] an armed knight rides into a church and is thrown by his restive horse;[4] a paralytic old woman is choked with a stolen coin;[5] five thieves are caught with their booty within the precincts of a religious house.[6] In the large number of cases of this sort, it may confidently be believed that stories true to the minutest particulars are preserved to us, misinterpreted perhaps, but implying nothing that should shake our faith in the narrator.

Coincidences reputed miraculous.

If, further, we allow something considerable for the influence of local rumour, the accumulative exaggeration of oral report, and the impossibility of contradicting a false or foolish story in any proportion to the extent of belief which it has forestalled, we shall, I think, be able to grant that a sufficiently large assortment of events apparently miraculous might easily be brought to the knowledge of any annalist to warrant him in according credit both to the general proposition, in the belief of which he was probably already settled, and to the par-

Exaggeration by rumour of miracles.

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[1] *De Mirac. S. Thomæ,* lib. ii. cap. 14, 15, 16. Compare the letter of the archbishop of Sens to the pope, Hoveden, ii. 24. "De cereis " etiam circa corpus positis et ex- " tinctis sed postea per se reac- " censis, non infida multorum re- " latio est."

[2] This is reported as occurring so frequently that the monks were obliged to use leaden or tin *ampullæ* instead of wooden bottles. The miraculous splittings then ceased, only two or three questionable cases of the disappearance of the water from the *ampullæ* could be made out. Lib. ii. cap. 32–38.

[3] *De Miraculis S. Thomæ,* lib. i. cap. 34, lib. ii. cap. 63. Similar stories about cheeses occur in the miracles of S. Cuthbert.

[4] *De Inventione S. Crucis,* cap. 32.

[5] *De Inventione S. Crucis,* cap. 26.

[6] Ibid., cap. 31.

The annalist records what he believes.

ticular instance. He recorded the fact, or what was put before him as a fact, and accounted for it on the ground that was, on his theory of the government of the world, most probable.

Cases of imposture very numerous.

But with all these allowances there remains a very considerable class of wonders of which it can only be said that either they were true miracles or they were blasphemous impostures, the record of which is, if true, a record of miracles, if not true, a conscious lie. There are others which on no theory of miracle can be regarded as conceivably possible, the pretending eyewitnesses of which condemn themselves, but which yet in all ages have found believers. To the first of these belong many of those recorded by such chroniclers as those who collected the miracles of S. Thomas or S. Cuthbert, in which prophetic visions are common, and the instantaneous cure of deep wounds or of such diseases as leprosy and dropsy. To the second belongs undoubtedly the story of the woman who having drunk of a blessed fountain vomited two great black toads, which immediately turned into very great and very black dogs, shortly after became asses, and finally went up into the air, leaving foul vestiges behind them.[1]

How such stories affect credibility.

Where the narrator, then, declares himself to have been the eyewitness of an impossible event, we can only conclude either that something did occur in his presence contrary to common experience, and that he has exaggerated it up to the dimensions of a lie; or that he has simply lied. But this is only where the recorder does profess himself to have been an eyewitness; the belief of such things being rife, it implies neither foolishness nor falseness to have been deceived by a second-hand tale.

Both Hoveden and his predecessor, the author of the "Gesta Henrici Regis," record a number of physical

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[1] Hoveden, iv. 123.

Physical prodigies and natural wonders more difficult of belief than miracles.

phænomena which have no connexion with ecclesiastical or religious miracle. Comets, eclipses, mock suns and moons, strange appearances in the sky are duly noticed. More unusual occurrences, such as the fountain of blood running at Kilwinning,[1] the rain of blood in the Isle of Wight,[2] the earthquakes and landslips [3] mentioned from time to time, are remarked on with the natural expression of wonder. But traveller's tales, such as that of the flying fish in the Mediterranean,[4] the fishes of S. Agatha at Catania,[5] the fires of S. Elmo at Messina,[6] are told with more show of misgiving than the visions of the Crusaders [7] or the miraculous cure of Philip II.[8] They were further removed from their experience, more foreign to their mental habits, and incapable of being tested by such criterions as they were capable of applying. The story of the flying fish appeared to Hoveden so strange that he gives it with the solemn attestation, "qui hoc "vidit, testimonium perhibuit;"[9] words which, borrowed as they are from the Gospel, seem to imply at once the doubt, and the strength of the evidence to which the doubt succumbed.

Was Hoveden the eyewitness of the Nafferton miracle?

In another place Hoveden uses the same strong formula in a way which might be interpreted to show that he was himself an eye-witness. "At Nafferton, a village "of Master Roger Arundel, a certain man made himself "a cake baked on the hearth on a Saturday afternoon; "and he ate of it, and kept back part of it for himself "against the morning; and when on the Lord's day "he had broken it, blood came out of it, 'and he who

[1] Bened., i. 313. Hoveden, ii. 285.

[2] Bened., i. 177. Hoveden ii. 136.

[3] Bened. i. 220. Hoveden, ii. 171.

[4] Bened. ii. 123. Hoveden, iii. 53.

[5] Hoveden, iii. 54.

[6] Benedict, ii. 143. Hoveden, iii. 71.

[7] Benedict, ii. 116, 177. Hoveden, iii. 42, 119.

[8] Benedict, i. 240–242. Hoveden, ii. 192, 193.

[9] Hoveden, iii. 53.

The Nafferton miracle.

" 'saw bore witness, and his witness is true.' "[1] If Hoveden meant to say that he was himself the witness, and the distance of Nafferton from Howden is not so great as to forbid the supposition, we must conclude either that he was imposed upon, or that he was a party to a fraud. As, however, he uses the like form of expression in the case of the flying fish, in which to almost a certainty the reference is not to himself, his credit in this instance may be saved. He shows an amount of credulity in the matter that contrasts unfavourably with the reticence of his predecessor; he shows that for some reason or other he did yield belief to the coarse and blasphemous impostures of abbot Eustace, but not in such a marked contrast with the popular opinion of his time as to place him in point of credibility below the contemporary authors. Even the professed miracle writers can rarely be charged with perversions of facts in names, dates, and circumstances not directly involved in the miracle immediately before them; it would be unjust to question the honesty of Hoveden or the general authenticity of his narration on these grounds. Nor has the question been so argued here. Lengthy as the remarks may seem, they have a certain bearing on the authorship of the compilation in connexion with which they are introduced.[2]

Explanation of Hoveden's attestation.

[1] Hoveden, iv. pp. 170, 171.

[2] As one cannot be too cautious in touching upon such subjects as miracles, I may be allowed to say here that whilst I should not venture to limit even in thought the action of the Deity by special providences or other departures from the general laws of the world's government, I cannot but regard the constant operation of such interventions by means of false relics, and the greatest part of the mediæval relics were false, as such a countenancing of falsehood and imposture as cannot be believed compatible with perfect goodness. In answer to fervent prayer, even where there was very decided and debasing superstition mingled with the prayer, a miracle might conceivably be wrought, but surely not a series of unmeaning prodigies grounding and strengthening a false belief in relics of unquestionable spuriousness.

An examination of the chronological carefulness of the compiler leads to a like conclusion. Hoveden's personality is to a certain degree vindicated by a sort of carelessness about exact dates, which is strongly opposed to the exactness and accuracy of his predecessor; a carelessness not greater than is common with his contemporaries, but which is in contrast with the work of that particular chronicler; which in the same way as his tendency to superstition runs through the whole of the work, and appears most markedly in the concluding portion. A short but summary notice of the points that illustrate this will answer a double purpose.

Carelessness of Hoveden in small matters of chronology, a characteristic running through the compilation.

In the first portion of the work, Hoveden's chronology from the year 878 to 935 is all wrong.[1] He has forsaken his guide, and run into so great difficulties as to be obliged to leave a gap in his computation from 924 to 935.[2] His dates from 1124 to 1135 are a year before the true date;[3] he has been misled by misunderstanding the arrangement of Henry of Huntingdon, and confounded regnal years with the years of the era. This error which, as I have remarked in the preface to the first volume,[4] might be merely a clerical one, has some importance when we find that the same carelessness about regnal years reappears in the later portions of the work.

Chronological carelessness in the first part of the work.

In the second division of the book the chronology is very much astray. The letters of Becket are in almost every case placed under wrong years; the death of Eustace of Boulogne is placed under 1148 instead of 1153;[5] the appointment of Thomas Becket to the Chancery is misdated;[6] so are Henry's coronation at Worcester,[7] the very important councils of Westminster[8]

In the second part.

[1] Vol. i. pp. 43–54.
[2] Vol. i. p. 54.
[3] Vol. i. pp. 180–189.
[4] Vol. i., pref., p. lxxxv.
[5] Vol. i. p. 210.
[6] Vol. i. p. 215.
[7] Vol. i. p. 216.
[8] Vol. i. p. 220.

Chronological errors.

and Northampton,[1] and Henry's Welsh campaign of 1165.[2] Although these are the most prominent examples, the confusion of the dates of Becket's letters renders the whole of this division so unsound in respect of arrangement, that it can only be regarded as a very second-rate authority.

In the third part of the work.

In the third division Hoveden has generally adhered faithfully to his prototype; but even here he has some conspicuous faults, especially in the article of additions. Most of these are noticed in the preface to the second volume.[3] Such are the misdating of the gift of the county of Mortain to John;[4] the story of the revelation of S. Thomas's martyrdom to S. Godric at Finchale,[5] although he has himself mentioned the death of S. Godric as occurring, as it really did, more than a year before; the mistake touching the crossing of the younger Henry to Normandy after his coronation, and the confused account of his father's absolution at Avranches.[6] The burning of Leicester is dated 1174 instead of 1173;[7] the marriage of Henry II.'s daughter with the king of Castille is placed in 1176 instead of 1170,[8] the Portuguese news of the year 1187 certainly does not belong to that year,[9] and the letters on the dispute touching S. Andrew's not only are misplaced, but appear with interpolated dates.[10] The two latter particulars fall under the head of additions made by Hoveden to his predecessor's work, in which such indications of carelessness would be most likely to occur.

The two most important instances of the sort are, however, the misplacing of the Council of Lombers in 1176 instead of 1165, on which I have remarked at

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[1] Vol. i. p. 224.
[2] Vol. i. p. 240.
[3] Vol. ii., pref., pp. xiii–xxi.
[4] Vol. ii. p. 6.
[5] Vol. ii. pp. 16, 17.
[6] Vol. ii. pp. 34, 40.
[7] Vol. ii. p. 57.
[8] Vol. ii. p. 105.
[9] Vol. ii. pp. 333, 334.
[10] Vol. ii. p. 351.

Chronological errors in Hoveden's additions to Benedict.

length already;[1] and the introduction of the record of a final concord between the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York at the end of the year 1174.[2] This last instance requires remark, because it is connected with Hoveden's personal history, and, like the cases of miracles mentioned above, serves to show the identity of the manipulator, who betrays both his weaknesses in matters of local interest especially. Since the second volume of this work was published I have found in the Monasticon a copy of the agreement, undated, but containing the names of the witnesses. We are thus enabled both to correct the conclusions of the note at p. 70 of the second volume, and so do justice to the accuracy of Mr. Raine in fixing the date of the death of Richard of Hexham; and to state that Hoveden, although he expressly dates the record in 1174, has made a mistake of several years in so doing. The names of the witnesses of the act are A., abbot of Rievaulx, Ralph, treasurer of York, and John son of Letold, archdeacon of York.[3] Of these the abbot of Rievaulx, who was none other than the famous Ailred, died in 1167;[4] Ralph de Warneville became treasurer on the promotion of John of Poictiers in 1163.[5] The date of the document falls within these two limits. It is true that the two copies do not coincide so closely[6]

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[1] Vol. ii., pref., pp. xx, xxi, 105–117.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

[3] Mon. Angl., vi. 1198.

[4] Chron. Mailros., *ad annum.*

[5] Le Neve, ed. Hardy, iii. 158.

[6] In particular the churches which, in Hoveden's copy, are said to be in the archdeaconry of Cleveland, are in the other said to be in the archdeaconry of John son of Letold; in the attestations John calls himself archdeacon of York, not of Cleveland. Again, the York churches are described as being in the archdeaconry of York in Hoveden, in the Monasticon as being in the archdeaconry of Geoffrey, that is the provost of Beverley, who was drowned in 1177, and was archdeacon of York or the West Riding. Probably, however, "archidiaconus Eboracensis" was a loose expression, which might apply to all the archdeaconries. On the whole, it is most probable that Hoveden's is a rough copy of the same document given rather more formally in the Monasticon from the *Registrum Magnum Album* at York.

The York and Durham agreement.

as to forbid the supposition that Hoveden's represents a renewal of the agreement which might be made after the death of abbot Ailred; but this can be regarded only as a possibility: as at present informed we must regard it as an instance of inaccuracy. The fact that the copy in the Monasticon contains three additional articles, besides the attestations, renders it more likely that, if they differ in date, Hoveden's is the earlier form.

Chronological errors in the concluding portion.

The following are the most important places in the concluding portion of the work in which Hoveden's chronology appears to require correction, and it is observable that the first of them occurs just at the point at which the older authority stops. (1.) He places in February 1192 a report from Rome of the way in which Richard had received the news of the deposition of Longchamp, which report had been brought by Andrew of Chavigny from Palestine.[1] We know, however, from the *Itinerarium* that Richard only received the news at Easter 1192, and that Andrew of Chavigny remained in Palestine until September. It is clear, I think, that this is misplaced by several months, and probable that the mention of Andrew is a further mistake.

(2.) The attempts of Philip of France to draw John into his treasonable designs against Richard began as soon as the former arrived home from the Crusade, and their commencement is placed by both Benedict and Richard of Devizes, who give ample details, under the year 1192. Hoveden, using nearly the same language as Benedict, places them after Christmas 1192,[2] when the news of Richard's captivity had reached France. No doubt they were then resumed, and in much the same form as in the preceding year. Hoveden's departure from his authority is not therefore likely to mislead,

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[1] Vol. iii. pp. 192, 193, and note on p. 192.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 203, note [2].

but the similarity of the language seems to show that he had confused the transactions of the two years.

Cases of error in chronology.

(3.) In his account of Richard's bestowal of church preferment during his captivity, our author mentions that the bishopric of Bath was given to Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton.[1] Savaric had been consecrated to his see before Richard was captured, and his share in the negotiations of the release had been already more than once mentioned by Hoveden himself.[2]

(4.) The proceedings at the court of Rome in the case of archbishop Geoffrey, which began in 1194 and reached the point at which the archbishop was sentenced to suspension at Christmas 1195, are related as occurring all in 1194.[3] It is true that this is rectified in some measure in the history of 1195,[4] and that the letters from Rome are inserted under their proper dates. It is true also that a double set of suits against Geoffrey was being carried on through the two years, which makes the chronological arrangement in itself somewhat puzzling. But it remains clear from the fact that Hoveden repeats the very language, dates, and legal forms, which he had used in 1194, in his account of the proceedings of 1195, that he had misdated them in the first instance. Further remarks on these suits will be found further on.

(5.) The final concord between William Stuteville and William Mowbray, which was concluded at Louth in Lincolnshire on Septuagesima Sunday in the second year of John, is placed by Hoveden in 1200 instead of 1201;[5] a fact which shows that the composition of the chronicle cannot have been exactly contemporaneous. The condition of the manuscript A. shows that it was inserted as an afterthought, but the mistake is not corrected.

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[1] Vol. iii. p. 221.
[2] Vol. iii. pp. 197, 215.
[3] Vol. iii. p. 231.
[4] Vol. iii. pp. 278–282.
[5] Vol. iv. pp. 117, 118.

Chronological errors in the concluding portion.

(6.) Under the year 1200[1] are inserted certain rules for the business of the Exchequer, which are dated "post "Pascha, coram rege Johanne, anno regni sui secundo," which belong, if the title, including the date, be an integral part of the document, to the year 1201.

Confusion of current and regnal years.

The two last-mentioned instances may be easily explained by a fact, which shows our author's forgetfulness in this respect more clearly than the mistakes themselves, and helps to identify Hoveden as the codifier of the earlier parts of the book. He begins, throughout the compilation, the year at Christmas, following the example of the author of the Gesta. That writer, throughout the reign of Henry II., when changing the date of the year, adds the regnal year of the king. As Henry II. was crowned shortly before Christmas 1154, his regnal years coincide nearly with the years of the era. The same is true of the reign of Stephen, who was crowned, according to the best authorities, on S. Stephen's day. Following, then Henry of Huntingdon's computation of Stephen's years and Benedict's computation of Henry II.'s, Hoveden keeps tolerably straight. The regnal years of Henry I., however, began in August, those of Richard I. in September, and those of John on the feast of the Ascension. In each of these cases our author falls into error. Following Henry of Huntingdon, who arranges the later history of Henry I. under regnal years, and calculating those as years of the era, he makes the error of a year from 1124 to 1135,[2] which has been already noticed. Adopting the same formula for Richard and John, he confuses the dates enough to show his own carelessness, though scarcely enough to mislead a careful reader. The chronicle of Benedict avoids this mistake; but Hoveden regards the year 1191 as being the second year of Richard,[3] although half of it fell in his third year; and

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[1] Vol. iv. p. 152.

[2] Vol. i. 180–189; above, p. xxv.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 92, compared with Benedict, ii. 150.

in the same way he treats 1192, adding to the change of the year of era the year of the reign, which is not specified by the older historian.[1] As he only mentions the regnal year at Christmas, and that without making an absolute mistake, this inexactness is of no importance, except as illustrating his alteration of or addition to his predecessor's notation. But under John it runs into marked error; the Christmas of 1200–1 is made the beginning of the third year of John,[2] and consequently the final concord dated in the second year is misplaced under the year 1200,[3] and probably the rules of the Exchequer also inserted wrongly.[4]

Chronological carelessness.

(7.) It is possible that this same confusion has caused our author to place the transactions of the divorce business of Philip Augustus which belong to Midlent 1201 under the year 1200, the words "eodem anno," with which he opens the history, preceding by several folios the change of the year at Christmas, and the whole negotiation being inserted before the text of the peace concluded in May 1200.[5]

(8.) The large batch of letters which come at the end of the Chronicle is not arranged chronologically, or in the order of the negotiations to which they belong.[6] This is, however, unimportant, as it is clear that the work is abruptly finished, and these documents are really rather notes for a continuation than part of a regularly arranged chronicle.

Small importance of these points.

So few are the points in which a very close examination and collation with contemporary authors can detect chronological error in Hoveden. Their principal importance, I repeat, consists in their betraying, as do the notes of superstitious credulity remarked on before, the work

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[1] Vol. iii. p. 179, compared with Benedict, ii. 235.
[2] Vol. iv. p. 156.
[3] Vol. iv. pp. 117, 118.
[4] Vol. iv. p. 152.
[5] Vol. iv. p. 146.
[6] Vol. iv. pp. 177–187.

Result of the discussion.

of a single hand on the diversified and largely borrowed materials of the compilation, and enabling us to say, here is a trace of the man Roger of Hoveden.

It would convey a wrong impression if I were to close this examination without the acknowledgment that these two drawbacks, on which I have enlarged chiefly with the purpose of identifying our author, only affect in a very slight degree, if at all, the value of his work. There are very few mediæval chroniclers who can be placed on an equality with the author of the Gesta or Chronicle of Benedict, in point of careful chronology, fulness of detail, and accuracy of treatment. To point out that Hoveden comes in a few places below that writer detracts hardly anything from his credit. It may be fairly said that Hoveden's later history is the only work that supplies the loss of his invaluable predecessor. Hoveden's work is our primary authority for the period, although it does fall somewhat below the standard of the Benedict.

Other questionable statements in the fourth portion of the work.

Besides the slight faults in chronology just enumerated, the fourth portion of Hoveden contains singularly few statements that can be regarded as erroneous. The confusion of the names of the Flemish princes which occurs several times,[1] and the occasional mistake in the identification of the Christian name of a foreign bishop or king,[2] are matters of slight importance, especially when it is remembered that the work as we have it was not revised or indeed completed by its compiler, and that the number of blanks left for the subsequent insertion of such names testifies to his caution in a very remarkable way. No English writer of the present day, even with the Directory and the Almanac of Gotha by his side, could guard against such little errors of detail; they cannot be made to ground a charge against a twelfth century writer. It is possible to point out a large number of places in Hoveden which are confirmed with

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[1] Vol. iv. pp. 39, 87, 93, 94.

[2] Such as at vol. iv. pp. 94, 119.

the utmost exactness by public records and by other historians such as Rigord, Ralph de Diceto, and others, with whom he cannot be shown to have had any communication.[1] It would be difficult to point out more than one or two in which his testimony is decidedly contradicted. On a careful examination I think the most important discrepancy between our author and the French historians is in the statement made by the former that in the rout after the battle of Gisors in 1198 Miles de Puiset, count of Bar, and John, the brother of William des Barres, were drowned in the Epte.[2] William of Armorica, in the Philippis, states that Philip lost no knight in the river on that occasion,[3] and certainly the count of Bar seems to have survived for many years.[4] Hoveden's mistake as to the date of the treaty of the year 1200[5] between John and Philip is easily explained, and is corrected by the copy of the treaty itself given further on.[6] A few other points of the kind may be found treated in the notes.

These are few and unimportant.

It remains now to call attention succinctly to the three most important topics that are illustrated by Hoveden in the fourth portion of the work. These are the history of Archbishop Geoffrey of York, the legal and political administration of Hubert Walter and Geoffrey FitzPeter, and the light thrown upon foreign history by the more careful notices of events which took place during the period in Italy, Germany, Norway, and Spain. Of these the first two not only are of great

Most important points specially illustrated.

[1] Several of these are pointed out in the notes to this edition, and several more by Sir T. Duffus Hardy, in his introduction to his edition of the Patent Rolls.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 60.

[3] *Guill. Brit. Phil.* lib. v.: "Sic- " que fit ex numero quod rex non " perdidit omni, quenquam vel " fluvio mersum campove peremp- " tum," ed. Pith. p. 289.

[4] If the article on him in the *Art de Vérifier les Dates* is to be trusted. Hoveden ought, however, to be good authority on the subject of the Puisets.

[5] Vol. iv. pp. 114, 115.

[6] Vol. iv. p. 151.

Special value of Hoveden's testimony.

interest in themselves, but, owing to Hoveden's opportunities of gaining information, come before us with especial advantage in his pages. A short summary of them, supplementing where it is possible his omissions, and somewhat systematizing his loose details, will serve better than any fancy sketch of his personal share in them, to help us to realize the atmosphere in which he lived, and the characters of the men with whom he associated whilst preparing his history.

Condition of the province of York in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

I. The religious and ecclesiastical condition of the province of York during the twelfth century was anomalous and extremely critical. The country had never recovered the savage cruelties to which it was subjected by the Conqueror. Northumbria had been one of the best and earliest consolidated kingdoms of the Heptarchy, her kings the bravest and holiest, her missionaries the most devoted; her monasteries had kept up European learning in the darkest age, her mariners and merchants were enterprising, her population equally and abundantly diffused. Archæological discovery testifies to a populousness and a civilization that history seems almost to have forgotten. Under the Danish invasion Yorkshire had gone through no more severe experiences than Middle England; the Angle population coalesced with the Danish immigrants; the lands changed their owners and the villages their names, but the changes were in analogy and in proportion to the usual rule. The conquerors were converted and civilized; but whilst they presented in some respects a marked contrast with the men of the south, the social condition of the country was not very different from what it had been, or from the rest of England. The phantom kings of Danish Northumbria rose and fell under the alternate pressure of West Saxon suzerainty, or recurring invasion from Scandinavia. The archbishop, by far the more permanent institution of the two, vindicated in practice his independence of his southern brother, and not unfre-

quently represented his province as a distinct nationality from that of Canterbury.

Previous condition of Northumbria.

During the century before the Conquest the political condition of the northern primacy had been materially varied. The inclusion of Nottinghamshire, a Mercian county, within the diocese of York, made the archbishop a regular member of the Witenagemot of the West Saxon dynasty, and the hold thus given was, by the royal policy, strengthened by suffering the archbishop to hold the extensive bishopric of Worcester in commendam.[1] The adhesion of Yorkshire to the West Saxon race of kings was secured far more by the archbishops of York than by the ealdormen of Northumbria; and notwithstanding many drawbacks from internal quarrels, and the threatening growth of the power of the Scots, the district enjoyed an average tranquillity and comparative wealth and prosperity until the terrible invasion of 1069. What William then left undone was completed by Malcolm and Cospatric in 1070. The ambition and turbulence of the Norman earls and the savage inroads of the Scots prolonged the desolation until the accession of Henry I. Henry put an end to the ravages of the Scots, took advantage of the forfeitures of the Mowbrays to endow a less dangerous body of nobles, and attempted

Desolation under William the Conqueror.

Restoration of order by Henry I.

[1] The connexion of Worcester and York seems to have begun with S. Oswald, who retained the former see, to which he had been consecrated, on his promotion to York in 972. Aldulf, his successor, held the two together until his death in 1002; and Wulfstan, the next archbishop, retained Worcester until 1016, when Leofsi was appointed as bishop. On Leofsi's death Brihteage, nephew of archbishop Wulfstan, was appointed, in 1033; his successor Living and archbishop Elfric then contested the possession of the see. Aldred, who succeeded Living in 1045, became archbishop of York in 1061; Sampson, the first Norman bishop of Worcester, was brother of Thomas I., archbishop of York; Thomas II., archbishop of York, was son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester. The church of S. Oswald at Gloucester was a peculiar of York, and the cause of one of the quarrels of Richard of Canterbury with archbishop Roger. The close connexion subsisted in one shape or another for at least 150 years.

to restore here as elsewhere so much of the ancient political system as was capable of resuscitation.

Injuries to the church organization.

But the ecclesiastical organization had suffered as deeply as the social, and in the process of restoration neither church nor state had much choice of means and instruments. The old border sees of Whithern and Hexham had been extinct for centuries. The archbishop exercised or rather claimed to exercise his jurisdiction in the north-western counties through the archdeacons of Richmond, under whose ineffective rule the church was impoverished and demoralized. Nearer the centre the work of restoration was undertaken by the Cistercians; but of the prelates to whom the Norman kings entrusted the see of York, the first Thomas was mainly occupied in a struggle with Canterbury, and seems to have lived most frequently at Gloucester; Gerard, his successor, was a mere courtier, and Thomas II., a pious man, did not live long enough to produce any marked result. Thurstan, the fourth archbishop after the Conquest, devoted himself heart and soul to the revival of religion and of the arts of peace. Thurstan was the great patron of the Cistercians, on whom likewise the nobles, rich in land if poor in money, lavished enormous territorial grants, and the Cistercians, not only by their devotion to the religious improvement of their dependents, but by their attention to sheep farming and grazing, which only could make their estates remunerative in the thinness of the reduced population, laid posterity under a double debt. It was under Thurstan's primacy, moreover, that the see of Carlisle was founded and that of Whithern revived; the former to undertake a substantive share in church government; the latter perhaps to enable the primate to extend the benefit of episcopal work to the remoter portions of his enormous diocese.

The archbishops from the Conquest onwards.

Relapse under Stephen.

No sooner, however, was this measure of policy adopted than it was defeated, and the work thrown back for twenty years. The occupation of Northumber-

land and Cumberland by the Scots coincided in point of time with the paralysis of church government at York, arising from the disputed election of S. William and Henry Murdac. During these years the lands in Scottish hands had no effective spiritual supervision. The Scottish church was disabled for the work by deficiencies of organization, which, already apparent, went on increasing in importance until it fell before the comparative life and order of the Calvinistic reformation. The bishop of Carlisle was only occasionally allowed to visit his diocese, and after his death sixty-two years elapsed before a successor could be prevailed on to accept the see. In Yorkshire S. William was supported by the party of Stephen and his brother the legate; Henry Murdac by the Cistercian interest, backed not only by the archbishop of Canterbury, but by S. Bernard himself, and all powerful at Rome. The better title and the wiser influence were arrayed against each other. Murdac held the see as long as he lived. The restoration of S. William, and the promotion of Hugh de Puiset, who was, like himself, a nephew of Stephen, were probably parts of the general scheme of pacification that belongs to the year 1153. But whilst the princes were struggling, the church was perishing, and the degradation of the latter was accomplished when Osbert of Bayeux, who had been archdeacon to Thurstan[1] and Murdac, having poisoned the archbishop in the Eucharistic chalice, claimed and obtained immunity as a clergyman from the vengeance of the outraged law.

Disputed election of archbishop.

The reign of Henry II. witnessed the restoration of the lost counties and of the territorial completeness of the province. It was, with the exception of one considerable struggle, a period of peace for the north country.

Restoration of order under Henry II.

[1] Osbert was of Bayeux, Thurstan's own town. Mon. Angl. vi. 205. He had a son called William of Bayeux, who was at law with the canons of York in 1191. Rot. Pip. 3 Rich. I.

Archbishop Roger.

The chair of Paulinus was filled by the active and clever Roger of Pont l'Evêque, and that of Durham by Hugh de Puiset, of whom his worst enemies could not say that he was either indolent or avaricious. Both these prelates showed much zeal and considerable constructive power in their administration: both however were builders of castles rather than of churches, and church builders rather than missionaries.[1] The distant portions of Roger's diocese scarcely felt his rule at all; the nearer were planted with prebendal churches, and brought up to the ordinary standard of the southern dioceses. Craven was however still left to the Cistercians; Richmondshire, Lancashire, and Westmoreland to the absentee archdeacons; the North Riding was full of peculiars of the Church of Durham, ancient demesnes of S. Cuthbert, which had been reclaimed from the prevailing desolation. And Roger moreover was a courtier and a lawyer; he had his quarrels with Becket to carry to their wretched end; he was the greatest power in Yorkshire, and on him the organization of the defence depended as much as that of Durham and Northumberland on the Palatine earl-bishop. The importance of the sheriffdom of Yorkshire was so great that it was generally entrusted to the prime minister of the Crown, the chief justiciar, as the most trusty of the baronage, and in his constant absence the real burden of counsel, if not of authority, fell on the primate.

Secular occupations of the primate.

The close connexion of the archbishop with the court had the further effect of filling all the posts of importance in the northern church with royal officials, who

[1] William of Newburgh's sketch of archbishop Roger is admirable; it is, however, too long to quote. He, like his successor Geoffrey, is charged with appointing beardless boys to prebends; with speaking contemptuously of monks; he was a good husband to his see, but with wonderful blindness thought that he could "obsequium præstare Deo" by posthumous benefactions, when he had neglected to lay up treasure in heaven. Lib. iii. cap. 3.

were absentees and unpriestly, if not irreligious, men. And this evil was aggravated during the long vacancy that followed the death of Archbishop Roger in 1181. Henry's reasons for prolonging this vacancy can only be guessed at; but it seems probable that he was influenced partly by the large revenue which he was enabled to draw into the exchequer,[1] partly by an aversion to bestow upon any of his clerical ministers a preferment which might involve a second struggle, such as that with Becket had been; partly by an indistinct intention of somehow providing for his faithful son Geoffrey. The course of action adopted was, however, very prejudicial to Geoffrey's interests; the prolongation of the vacancy being itself a great source of disturbance to the province, and the ecclesiastics who were promoted being of the class most likely to be jealous of a new archbishop, and especially of such a one as Geoffrey. Geoffrey's troubles were thus created for him long before he had any certain prospect of the archiepiscopate, and the circumstances under which he was promoted to it were untoward in an extreme degree.

Appointments of absentees.

Long vacancy of the see after Roger's death.

In September 1186, Henry II., in a court at Marlborough,[2] proposed to the assembled canons of York the election of a new archbishop; and they nominated five persons for royal approval. These were Hubert Walter the Dean, Hamo the precentor, Bernard, prior of Newburgh, Laurence, archdeacon of Bedford, and Master Roger Arundel; the two last were ministers of the Exchequer, who had at the time the management of the archiepi-

Attempts at an election.

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[1] The proceeds of the archiepiscopal estates were let at ferm in 1189 for 1,056*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*; the amount of synodals was 29*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* besides, and there were other windfalls. The ferm in 1185 was 1,112*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* The see was vacant for eight years, so that the benefit accruing to the exchequer from the vacancy must have been nearly 10,000*l.* Madox, Hist. Exch. 211. Pipe Roll of Rich. I., p. 9.

[2] Ben. Pet. i. 352.

The king's reasons for refusing to ratify the election.

scopal revenue.[1] Henry refused all five, as he had in the preceding May declined to sanction the election of Richard Fitz Neal, Godfrey de Lucy, and Herbert the poor to the see of Lincoln; on that occasion alleging that all these candidates were rich enough already, and that for the future he would never give a bishopric to any one for love, or relationship, counsel, prayer, or price, but to those whom the Lord should choose.[2] It was no doubt from something like a religious sense of right that he promoted Hugh of Lincoln and Archbishop Baldwin, but his other nominations both before and after this date can scarcely be reconciled with this declaration.

Nomination of Geoffrey to the see of York.

Nothing more was done in the matter until the king's last illness, when he nominated his son Geoffrey. During this time the ministers of the Exchequer received the temporalities of the see, Hubert Walter as dean had the care of the spiritualities,[3] and the episcopal functions were discharged by the bishop of Durham, who as a principal member of the church of York seems to have claimed certain undefined rights in the cathedral body, if not also a voice in the election of the metropolitan, analogous with that which the southern bishops still occasionally exercised in the elections to Canterbury.[4]

Composition of the chapter at this time.

Very much of the interest of the subsequent history depends on the character and position of the canons of the chapter at this time. At the head of it was Hubert Walter, the nephew and chaplain of Ranulf Glanvill, justiciar of England and sheriff of Yorkshire. He of course was non-resident, having been generally in attendance on the king, either as the representative of the justiciar who remained in England whilst Henry was

[1] William le Vavassur was joined in the commission with them. Madox, Hist. Exch. 211. Pipe Roll of Rich. I., p. 9.

[2] Ben. Pet. i. 346.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 7. Ben. Pet. ii. 78.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 7. Ben. Pet. ii. 77.

Hubert Walter the dean.

abroad, or in some capacity connected with the business of the Chancery.[1] Hubert was a man, as his later history showed, of great ability in affairs, a well-trained and most practical statesman, and a thoroughly English minister to a thoroughly un-English king. It is in his relationship to Archbishop Geoffrey that the worst side of his character comes out. As having been elected to the see in 1186, and being in possession, as dean, of the spiritualities, he seems to have regarded himself as having a claim upon the archiepiscopate which the promotion of Geoffrey of course would disappoint. The power which he had in the chapter and diocese in these two capacities was exercised in his absence by his official, Master Bartholomew.[2] Next in importance though not in dignity after the dean, were the archdeacons; Ralph, of the West Riding, of whom we know no more than transpires from his subsequent conduct to Geoffrey; Geoffrey Muschamp,[3] of Cleveland, who afterwards was bishop of Lichfield; and William Testard, of Nottingham. The archdeaconry of the East Riding was annexed, it would seem, to the treasurership.[4] The archdeaconry of

The archdeacons.

[1] Hubert was made dean on the death of Robert Butevilein in 1186; only a short time before he was elected to the archbishopric. He attests the king's letters dated at Guildford early in 1187 (*Epp. Cant.* p. 28). In 1189 he was in attendance on the king in Maine, and apparently had the royal seal at his disposal (*Epp. Cant.* pp. 282, 283, 284). William of S. Mere l'Eglise, who succeeded to his prebend at York in 1189, is called the king's protonotary, and it is possible that Hubert held the office before him, or that he acted as vice-chancellor under Geoffrey, as Walter of Coutances had done. His connexion with the chancery under whatever title must have brought him into early intercourse with Geoffrey, and probably produced the personal jealousy which so much affects their later relations.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 7. Benedict, ii. 77.

[3] Geoffrey Muschamp was probably appointed by Henry II. just before his death, as his nomination is one of those said to be fraudulently sealed by Geoffrey as chancellor, and as his predecessor Jeremiah is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1 Rich. I. Hoveden, iii. 274.

[4] This is an inference from the fact that no archdeacon of the East Riding is mentioned in these disputes, and that the churches which

The great dignities of the chapter.

Richmond, one of the most wealthy and influential posts in the English church, was filled by Godfrey de Lucy, the son of the late justiciar Richard de Lucy,[1] whom we find to have been in constant employment during Henry's reign in the judicial and financial work of the Exchequer, and who is known to us under Richard as bishop of Winchester, alternately the friend and victim of William Longchamp. Of the great dignities of the chapter, the treasurership was held by Geoffrey himself, the king's son; he had received it on the promotion of Ralph Warneville, his predecessor in the chancellorship, together with the archdeaconry of Rouen, and probably other important preferment.[2] The treasurership was a very valuable post, next in wealth to the deanery, and very far beyond the other dignities. It had been held in succession by S. William, afterwards archbishop; Hugh de Puiset; John of Poictiers, afterwards archbishop of Lyons; and Ralph of Warneville, the chancellor. It was properly in the gift of the archbishop, and in fact Roger, who died whilst the promotion of Ralph de Warneville was in contemplation, had promised the reversion of it to the precentor Hamo,[3] thus preparing a new rival and a pertinacious one for his unlucky successor. The chancellorship of the church was vacant.

Geoffrey the treasurer.

Hamo the precentor.

The precentor Hamo was the only dignitary in constant residence. He had filled the office for many years, had been nominated, as we have just seen, by Roger to the treasurership, had been also proposed to the king for

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are specified by Hoveden as being in the treasurer's archdeaconry are situated in the East Riding. Hugh de Puiset seems to have held it with the treasurership, and as Hoveden was locally within it, it was no doubt an additional reason for his wish to strengthen the family interest there, by obtaining it for his nephew Bouchard. The first person known as archdeacon of the East Riding by that name is Walter of Wisbech, in 1218. Hoveden, ii. 70. Le Neve, ed. Hardy, iii. 141.

[1] *Ben. Pet.* i. 334.

[2] Gir. Camb. (*Ang. Sac.* vol. ii.) *V. Galfr.* p. 380.

[3] *Ben. Pet.* ii. 88. It is added that Henry II. had confirmed the appointment.

election to the see in 1186, and seems from the later history to have embodied all the traditions of the chapter, as well as to have wielded all its local influence. Of the other canons only a few names have reached us, and those are of local interest only.[1] But it seems not improbable that the hereditary principle in the tenure of these preferments still retained some vitality. The most important ecclesiastics in Yorkshire after these seem to have been Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle, and Roger Arundel, a canon of Southwell and custos of the temporalities of the see. It must not be forgotten that the archbishop had at Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell, three other chapters of canons well endowed and largely leavened with influential public men. Amongst these it would be strange if Roger Hoveden were not provided for; that he was so however we have no proof.

Permanence of hereditary interest among the canons.

Other chapters of canons.

The news of Geoffrey's nomination to the archbishopric must have reached England with the news of Henry's death; and it was afterwards said that he turned the fact of his holding the great seal to advantage, by sealing letters of collation to vacant prebends, after his father's decease[2] and before the seal of the new king was made. If the charge is true, his purpose probably was to insure himself a certain party among the canons. Hoveden very justly remarks upon the act as disgraceful if true;[3]

Geoffrey's misuse of his father's seal.

[1] There is a difficulty in drawing up a regular list, because of the several that present themselves, it is not certain whether they held the stalls in succession or contemporaneously. Master Erard, William of Stigandby, and Geoffrey Muschamp seem to have been nominated by Henry shortly before his death; William of S. Mere l'Eglise, William of Chimeli, and Bouchard de Puiset by Richard at the council of Pipewell; Simon of Apulia and Master Honorius by archbishop Geoffrey. Besides these Peter of Flanders held the prebend of Husthwaite, Hugh Murdac was another canon, Adam of Thornovere another.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 274.

[3] That the accusation was rife seems to be shown by Giraldus, who mentions that Geoffrey immediately on his father's death sealed up the great seal with the seals of the barons who were present, and sent it to Richard, *V. Galfr.* p. 382.

The vacancies probably filled up by Henry before his death.

but it does not follow that anything was done without the direction of Henry, whose death was sudden and whose last commands were confided to Geoffrey. Richard seems to have had no fault to find with the nomination at first; Henry's promise made on the 4th or 5th of July at Chinon was confirmed by the new sovereign at Rouen, on the occasion of his investiture with the duchy of Normandy on the 20th of the same month,[1] and Geoffrey immediately despatched his officers with royal letters to York to replace those of the king and the dean, and to transact the business of the election, which must necessarily be conducted in canonical form. So little time was lost in doing this, that on the 10th of August the chapter assembled to make the election.

Geoffrey's nomination confirmed by Richard.

Election of Geoffrey by the chapter.

The prospect of having such an archbishop as Geoffrey after a long interval of quasi independence was not very welcome to the York clergy; but at first they seem to have made the best of it. The archdeacon of Richmond, who probably saw the way to promotion open elsewhere, sent a letter of proxy to assent to it;[2] and a sufficient number of canons present followed the lead; but the act was not completed without a strong protest on the part of Master Bartholomew, the dean's official, who appealed to the pope against the election as invalid, in consequence of the absence of his principal, and of the bishop of Durham the only surviving suffragan. William of Newburgh tells us that the precentor was frightened into taking part;[3] but as we find him a little later good friends with Geoffrey, on whose support he may have reckoned in his pursuit of the treasurership, it is probable that he joined willingly in the election.

Richard himself believed or found it convenient to believe the charge, and Geoffrey seems to have admitted or not to have contradicted it. Hoveden, iii. 274.

[1] Benedict, ii. 73.

[2] Benedict, ii. 77. Hoveden, iii. 7.

[3] W. Newb. lib. iv. cap. 2. Ralph de Diceto also mentions that Hamo published the election in place of the absent dean, c. 653.

Geoffrey seems to have considered that his promptness in obtaining canonical election superseded the necessity of further watchfulness. He neglected to keep Richard in sight, and instead of following the court to England at once, spent some weeks in visiting his estates in Anjou and Touraine. Giraldus Cambrensis [1] alleges that he was reluctant to take orders, and so to cut himself off from a remote chance of succession to the throne. It is possible that there may be a grain of truth in the assertion; that he was anxious to retain his hold on the see of York without taking orders until it was absolutely necessary; it is also possible that Richard's design was to draw him into Holy Orders by the hope of the archiepiscopate, intending, as was afterwards done, that by means of pecuniary exactions and enforced exile he should be disarmed of any power that the position entitled him to. All this is, however, conjectural. The fact was that from the very moment that his promotion was announced a large number of influences were set to work against him. Queen Eleanor naturally disliked her husband's natural son, whose behaviour to his father was in such strong contrast with that of her own children. Bishop Hugh de Puiset was very much disinclined to accept as his superior so energetic a person as Geoffrey; and was not without hope of obtaining the see of York for his nephew Bouchard.[2] The ministerial party moved by Hubert Walter and represented by Ranulf Glanvill remonstrated against the appointment; and the canons who had been absent or in the minority at the election, moved also by Hubert Walter, pushed their appeal. This appeal was formally renewed by Hubert in the presence of five bishops, a few days after Richard's landing, at Winchester; and the result was the issuing of a mandate from that place that the property both temporal and spiritual of the see should remain as it was at the

Time lost by Geoffrey after the election.

Opposition to his appointment by the queen, bishop Hugh, and the ministers.

Appeal of Hubert Walter.

[1] *V. Galfr.* pp. 382, 383.

[2] Gir. Camb. *V. Galfr.* p. 384.

Geoffrey's servants displaced.

death of the late king. In consequence of this Geoffrey's servants were displaced by those of the dean and the Exchequer.[1]

He makes good his position with Richard.

Geoffrey, finding that he was quickly losing the hold on his brother which the remorse consequent on his father's death had given him, now hastened to England; met the representatives of the chapter at London, and after a show of reluctance gave his formal consent to the election.[2] Thence he proceeded to Windsor, where after considerable difficulties he seems to have made good his position against all opponents, or perhaps to have outbid them in promises made to secure the fickle favour of Richard. He appeared at the coronation as elect of York;[3] but the appeal probably rendered it necessary that the process of election should be renewed, or at all events receive papal confirmation.

Promotions at the council of Pipewell.

At the council of Pipewell Richard attempted, by his distribution of ecclesiastical patronage, to satisfy all the opposing interests involved in this question. To Geoffrey he gave the archbishopric; Hubert Walter was reconciled by his appointment to Salisbury; Godfrey de Lucy got his expected promotion at Winchester; the bishop of Durham obtained for Bouchard the treasurership of York, vacated by Geoffrey, and gave his formal assent to the election of Geoffrey.[4] The difficulties of the appointment were however complicated by the conduct of Archbishop Baldwin, who, remembering the old strife between York and Canterbury, forbade the consecration of Geoffrey by any other bishop than himself. This was especially unreasonable, as Baldwin was now starting for the Crusade; Geoffrey's confirmation at Rome could not be transacted before he departed, and the king had determined that Geoffrey should not set foot in England

Appeal of archbishop Baldwin.

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[1] *Ben. Pet.* ii. 77.
[2] Gir. Camb. pp. 382, 383.
[3] Benedict, ii. 79.
[4] Gir. Camb. p. 383.

during his absence. Geoffrey does not seem to have been aware of this, for a week after the council he obtained priest's orders from the bishop of Whithern at Southwell, and sent Adam of Thornovere to Rome to apply for his pall;[1] the king however forbade his sailing at this time.

Geoffrey is ordained priest.

At this juncture a little common sense and self-restraint might have stood Geoffrey in good stead. He was eminently impracticable. He had for the moment got rid of his most formidable difficulties; his rivals were provided for by promotion, and he himself was almost in possession. Richard had allowed him to visit his see and had commissioned him to go as far as the Tweed at the head of the baronage of Yorkshire to meet William the Lion, whom he was to conduct to Canterbury to do homage. From Southwell he made his way to York where he speedily involved himself in new troubles.

His want of ordinary prudence.

Geoffrey had been at York sixteen years before, when as elect of Lincoln he had headed the king's forces against the Mowbrays in the great rebellion of 1174, and having beaten them had been received in the ancient city in triumph.[2] In that struggle he had shown qualities that seemed beyond his years; now, a man of mature age, he showed a want of tact that would have been remarkable in a boy. The promotion of Hubert Walter had vacated the deanery, and the king had given it to Henry, brother of the great William Marshall; he and Bouchard de Puiset were now at York waiting to be installed. Although the king's right to fill up the places, which became vacant during the vacancy of the see, seems to have been fully recognized, Geoffrey was vexed to see himself deprived of the two best preferments in his gift; the precentor Hamo had already, acting in the interest of the archbishop, refused to install the new

His visit to York.

The new dignitaries there.

[1] Benedict, ii. 92.

[2] Gir. Camb. *V. Galfr.* p. 379.

Geoffrey refuses to install them.

dignitaries on the ground that the right belonged to the archbishop only. Geoffrey himself refused on the excuse that until he was confirmed by the pope his acts would be liable to be invalidated. The dean and treasurer hastened off to complain to the king. Geoffrey was solemnly received in the minster, but as soon as the news reached Richard he ordered all the lay estates of his brother in England and France to be seized. He does not however seem to have threatened his tenure of his canonical rights.

He conducts the king of Scots to Canterbury.

From York Geoffrey proceeded northwards, met the king of Scots, and brought him to Canterbury, where he found Richard's attitude extremely threatening. His enemies had improved their opportunities. Hubert Walter, although now bishop of Salisbury, renewed his claim; Hugh de Puiset vouched for the uncanonical character of Geoffrey's election; stories of Geoffrey's private behaviour were invented and brought to Richard; he had been used to put the cover of a gold bowl on his head and say, "Is not this head fit to wear a crown?" and he had trodden underfoot a portrait of Richard, saying that such a king as he ought so to be treated.[1] And now the disappointed dean and treasurer put in their word; the man was a murderer, the son of an adulterer and a whore,[2] unworthy to be promoted to the priesthood.

Renewed efforts of his enemies.

He goes to the legate and offends the king.

Geoffrey, again unwisely, betook himself to John of Anagni, the papal legate, who was then at Dover, and obtained from him confirmation in defiance of these appeals;[3] so little did he understand the nature of his brother. Richard was extremely indignant, but there was a way in which his indignation could at any time be assuaged. He extorted a promise from Geoffrey to pay him 2,000*l.*; the appeals were then withdrawn, the

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[1] "Suppeditari et subjici;" the former word certainly implying a pun. Gir. Camb. *V. Galfr.* p. 385.

[2] Benedict, ii. 99.

[3] Gir. Camb. 384, 385. Benedict, ii. 99.

legate's confirmation recognized, and Geoffrey's possessions, personal and official, restored. He in his turn had to confirm the appointments of the king's nominees, and promised to renew the covenants which his predecessor had made with the bishop of Durham.

Richard is reconciled.

Again Geoffrey started for the north. The king left Dover on the 11th of December. Early in January the archbishop elect, the dean, and the treasurer were at York; and before the twelve days of Christmas were over they were in a thicker fray than ever. On the eve of the Epiphany the archbishop proposed to attend vespers in the minster in state. The precentor Hamo and the other canons who were on his side waited to receive him in procession. Whether Geoffrey was behind time or not does not appear; but when the procession reached the choir they found that the candles were lighted and that the dean and treasurer had begun the service. So marked and gratuitous an insult roused Geoffrey at once, he commanded the choir to be silent, and the precentor in a more constitutional way seconded the command. The order was obeyed and Geoffrey himself began to sing the service; thereupon the treasurer ordered the candles to be extinguished; the management of the lights belonged to the treasurer as much as that of the singing did to the precentor; his command also was obeyed, and Geoffrey finished the vespers in the dark. When the service was over he protested loudly against the insult, and suspended the church from Divine service until an apology should be made him.[1]

Geoffrey goes again to York in January 1190.

He is insulted in the minster by the dean and treasurer.

Geoffrey although impracticable was placable enough; on the following day he offered to meet the dean and treasurer and to receive amends. The church was full of clergy and citizens anxious, no doubt, to see the new archbishop and canons, as well as to witness the issue of the struggle. The two parties met in the choir, and Geoffrey

He offers to be reconciled.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 31, 32.

Riot in the minster and flight of the dean.

was ready to be reconciled; but the two dignitaries not only refused an apology but tried to get up a demonstration against him. A riot followed, the citizens took Geoffrey's part and were with difficulty restrained by him from falling on his opponents. Dismayed at the result they had recourse to flight; one took refuge in the tomb of S. William, the other in the deanery. Unhappily Geoffrey was not now content with their discomfiture, he excommunicated them both and closed the church.[1]

Unfortunate consequences.

This unfortunate affray defeated one of the main objects of Geoffrey's visit. It offended Hugh de Puiset, who, as justiciar, forbade the tenants of the see to pay any money to the elect;[2] and it opened the eyes of the citizens to his uncertain tenure of his office, so that it was impossible to raise a loan. He had to follow Richard to France without the money that he had promised. He found him at Lions,[3] about Easter, told his story, and found himself again disseized. Not content with this the king now sent the bishop of Bath, Reginald Fitz-Jocelin; Nicolas, dean of S. Julian's at Le Mans; and Bouchard de Puiset, to Rome to forbid his recognition by the pope.[4] For this, however, they were too late; Clement III. had already on the 7th of March confirmed the election and sent the pall.[5] After another tedious negotiation with Richard, in the course of which he offered to surrender the estates of the see for a yearly pension, he obtained grace. At Vezelai he paid 800 marks down; 1,000*l*. the king forgave him; the balance of the debt he was to account for at the Exchequer.[6] Before he parted with Richard he had to swear that he would not return to England within three years. Geoffrey

Richard again offended.

The pope confirms the election.

Geoffrey purchases the king's favour.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 32.

[2] Gir. Camb. p. 386.

[3] Gir. Camb. p. 386. Richard was at Lions in Easter week. Fœdera, i. 51.

[4] Gir. Camb. p. 386.

[5] Ralph de Diceto, 653. The pope mentions that Alexander III. had already granted Geoffrey a dispensation; from the bar, no doubt, of illegitimacy.

[6] Gir. Camb. p. 387.

retired to Tours, whence he sent his agents to Rome to watch the proceedings of his adversaries, and if they could not obtain an order for his speedy consecration, to procure the cancelling of the letters which Hugh de Puiset had obtained releasing him from his dependence on the see of York. Geoffrey's agents on this occasion were Simon of Apulia, an Italian lawyer, who had served Henry II., and whom he now, or a little later, made chancellor of York; his friend Hamo the precentor; William Testard archdeacon of Nottingham, and Ralph Wigetoft canon of Ripon; all of whom, except the last, afterwards took a decided part against him.[1]

He lives at Tours, and negotiates with Rome.

For a year and a quarter Geoffrey stayed at Tours. During this time Longchamp was supreme in England; Hugh de Puiset reduced to insignificance, and living at Howden; the dean and treasurer all-powerful in York. What little action was taken in his concerns was carried on at Rome and Messina. In April 1191 Eleanor was instructed by Richard to inform the pope that the objections to his brother's consecration were removed.[2] Celestine III., within a month of his own elevation to the papacy, issued an order to the archbishop of Tours to consecrate him, and on the 11th of May authorized him to exact from Bishop Hugh de Puiset the profession of obedience which Clement III. had allowed him to decline.[3] Of this Hugh was immediately informed by his agents, and forthwith appealed against it as involving a grievance to his church, placing his own person and church, with all its members, under the special protection of the holy see.[4] According to Giraldus, the arch-

The objections to his consecration are withdrawn.

Precautionary measures of the bishop of Durham.

[1] Gir. Camb. p. 387. William of Newburgh also mentions Simon of Apulia as the principal agent of the archbishop at Rome, lib. iv. cap. 17.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 100.

[3] This letter is printed in the Monasticon, vi. 1188. The privilege which Hugh had obtained from Clement III. is described by William of Newburgh, lib. iv. cap. 27.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 169. Benedict, ii. 225.

Geoffrey prepares to return to England.

bishop had been released from his promise to stay away from England for three years, before he parted from Richard ; but the exact truth or falsehood of this statement has never been cleared up.[1] He now prepared for his consecration and for his return home as soon as it should be completed.

His consecration, Aug. 18, 1191.

He was consecrated by the archbishop of Tours in the church of S. Maurice at Tours on the 18th of August, and received the pall the same day from the abbot of Marmoutier.[2] That done he issued a letter to the bishop of Durham to attend a synod of the province of York on the Monday after Michaelmas, in which he should both renew his profession and give an account of his conduct in detaining the procurations due to the see of York from the jurisdictions of Allertonshire and Howdenshire.[3] On the receipt of this summons Hugh again appealed to Rome.

He summons the bishop of Durham, who appeals to Rome.

His landing, imprisonment, and share in the deposition of Longchamp.

The story of the landing of Geoffrey, his imprisonment and release, the part he took in the humiliation of Longchamp, and the revolution that followed, need not be told here.[4] He joined for a moment with Hugh de Puiset and William Marshall in this business, but almost before it was over the quarrel broke out again. Longchamp's deposition took place on the 10th of October. That done, Hugh laid his case before the bishops. Geoffrey hastened by Northampton, where he had studied in earlier years, and was still sufficiently popular to be welcomed with a procession, to York, where he was enthroned with great solemnity on All Saints' day.[5] Bishop Hugh failed to make his appearance, and after three citations,[6] to which he replied by three appeals, was excommunicated, Geoffrey so far disregarding mode-

He goes to York and excommunicates bishop Hugh.

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[1] Gir. Camb. p. 387.

[2] Gir. Camb. p. 388. Ralph de Diceto, c. 663.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 168, 169.

[4] See the preface to vol. iii., pp. lxv–lxxxiii.

[5] Gir. Camb. p. 400.

[6] Benedict, ii. 225, 226.

rate counsels as to direct that the sacred vessels in which Holy Communion was celebrated in the bishop's presence should be broken up, as polluted.[1] Hugh took up his residence again at Howden, where John visited him at Christmas; he also urged his appeal at Rome. Exasperated by this contempt Geoffrey excommunicated him a second time in more violent terms than before on Candlemas day 1192.[2]

Hugh contemns the sentence and is again excommunicated, Feb. 2, 1192.

Not content apparently with making one inveterate and powerful enemy, and involving himself in one suit at Rome, Geoffrey soon after this excommunicated the prioress of Clementhorpe for resisting his command to reduce her little nunnery to dependence on the distant abbey of Godstow.[3] She also carried her wrongs to the pope. The heavy hand of Geoffrey fell also on the chapter. Henry Marshall and Bouchard de Puiset were stimulated by the bishop of Durham to renew their appeals, and a new quarrel emerged, the causes of which are obscure, but which alienated from the archbishop his old servant Adam of Thornovere, Peter de Ros, the archdeacon of Carlisle, and Hugh Murdac, another of the canons. As usual, Geoffrey excommunicated them, and as usual, they appealed.[4] Matters looked so threatening that at Midlent the queen summoned the two prelates to London to compel them to keep the peace. They obeyed the summons; Hugh offered to submit to the arbitration of the bishops, but Geoffrey insisted that he should sue to him for absolution and promise obedience. Hugh answered that if that was the archbishop's view he would make no peace with him unless he would publicly confess that his sentence of excommunication was null. Geoffrey would not hear of this, and having added to the number of his enemies the bishop of London and other suffragans

Appeal of the prioress of Clementhorpe.

New appeals of the canons, and new excommunications.

Failure of the queen's attempt at a reconciliation.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 169.

[2] Benedict, ii. 237.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 188. Benedict, ii. 240.

[4] Benedict, ii. 248.

Geoffrey offends the bishops.

of Canterbury, whom he had outraged by having his cross borne erect at the Temple, returned somewhat discomfited to his own province.[1]

Commission of delegates on the quarrel with the bishop of Durham.

It was just at this juncture that a commission was brought from Rome, directed to the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester and the abbot of Peterborough, ordering them to declare that the pope had annulled the sentence against Bishop Hugh ;[2] and further enjoining on them that if on inquiry they found that the archbishop had issued the orders for destroying the sacred vessels, the bishop should no longer be bound to make his profession of obedience. The judges delegate undertook to arrange

Sittings of the delegates.

this quarrel. After a hearing early in the spring they adjourned to Midsummer day, and from Midsummer day, as the bishop of Durham was absent from England, to the feast of S. Calixtus.[3] The other disputes queen Eleanor and the justiciar, Walter of Coutances, took in hand. It was necessary to send Hugh de Puiset to France on important business ; he refused to go unless the questions were settled. Under this stimulus they issued peremptory letters to Geoffrey to satisfy his discontented chapter, and directed William Stuteville, in case of his noncompliance, to seize the whole estates of the see.[4]

Apologies of the canons.

It would have been madness to disobey such a monition ; fortunately for Geoffrey his opponents were growing tired of the contest. Bouchard de Puiset, Adam of Thornovere, Hugh Murdac, and Peter de Ros consented to ask formally for absolution, and Geoffrey in return for

[1] Benedict, ii. 238.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 170, 171. Benedict, ii. 245. The latter chronicle enumerates here the privileges which Bishop Hugh acquired from Celestine III. No one was to have power to excommunicate him without special mandate from Rome. He was not to be required to make his profession at all. Hugh was not satisfied with this; he sent back his agents to demand entire independence of Geoffrey. The same conclusion is inferred from the language of William of Newburgh, lib. iv. cap. 27.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 172.

[4] Benedict, ii. 247.

the concession reinstated them in their stalls and emoluments.[1] Hamo and Bouchard also under his auspices patched up an agreement, by which they divided the revenue of the treasurership. Bouchard was to hold it for life, unless he changed his profession or received higher promotion; Hamo in such case to have the reversion of the dignity. Only the dean held out, and against him the archbishop hurled an avalanche of curses, going so far as to place his metropolitan city under interdict so long as it was polluted by Henry Marshall's presence.[2]

Reconciliation of all the dignitaries except the dean.

At this point we lose the guidance of the Chronicle of Benedict, and Hoveden does not immediately take up the thread of the story; but it would appear from a scanty notice preserved by Gervase of Canterbury,[3] that the judges delegate arranged a reconciliation between Geoffrey and Hugh at Northampton in October, the old bishop consenting at last to recognize his canonical superior. The reconciliation lasted for some time, being no doubt strengthened by the union which was effected throughout the north against John, who had taken up arms on the news of his brother's imprisonment. The most obdurate of Geoffrey's opponents was also got rid of soon after. Richard whilst in Germany nominated the dean of York to the see of Exeter.

Reconciliation of the archbishop with bishop Hugh in October 1192.

Promotion of the dean.

Up to this time we may fairly regard Geoffrey as not more sinned against than sinning. All the difficulties of his position, the provoking attitude of his opponents, the low standard of ecclesiastical morality, are insufficient to excuse the wanton exercise of the awful weapon of excommunication. Henceforth we see him the victim not only of grossly unfair treatment by Richard, but of the less obvious persistent hostility of Hubert Walter, and of cruel ingratitude on the part of his own servants.

Geoffrey victimized by Richard, Hubert Walter, and his own servants.

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[1] Benedict, ii. 248.
[2] Benedict, ii. 249.
[3] Gervase, c. 1580, 1581.

Geoffrey's impracticable character.

His own conduct is as far as ever from being impeccable; he is still a violent, intemperate, impracticable man of the world, but he has no longer to contend with opponents whose party principles and prejudices palliate the guilt of their conduct towards him; his enemies are now the men whose fortunes he has founded, and for whom in great measure the actions have been done which gave an excuse for the enmity of his earlier foes.

Alienation of his friends in the chapter.

The news of Richard's imprisonment reconciled him for a time with Hugh de Puiset, and the promotion of Henry Marshall delivered him from his greatest personal enemy in the chapter. But the necessities of Richard's ransom compelled him to take measures which alienated all his friends at York, whilst the negotiations for the appointment of a new dean resulted in the conversion of his oldest and most confidential servant into a bitter and inveterate personal enemy, whose conduct became a precedent and excuse for a long series of desertions. The promotion of Hubert Walter to the archbishopric of Canterbury, shortly followed by his nomination to the justiciarship, and a year later by his appointment as legate, placed the unfortunate and imprudent Geoffrey at the mercy of an old and honourable but still determined enemy.

Promotion of Hubert Walter.

Richard asks Geoffrey's aid in the raising of his ransom.

Amongst the first persons in England to whom Richard in his great emergency applied for help in raising the ransom money was Geoffrey,[1] on whom, notwithstanding his treatment of him, he felt he could depend, both as his father's son, as an ally who had everything to fear from John, and as a source of revenue which if fairly managed would not be soon exhausted. Geoffrey showed the greatest alacrity in taking up arms for the defence of Richard's rights; and with scarcely less zeal, tempered however by no slight misgivings, he undertook to negotiate for supplies. He laid the matter of the ransom

[1] Hoveden, iii. 222.

before the Chapter of York;[1] throughout the kingdom, he said, it had been agreed that a very great sacrifice should be made, it was necessary that they should offer a fourth part of their annual revenue. Hoveden, in telling the story, rises in tone for the moment to dilate on the ingratitude of the clergy. He called, counselled, entreated those canons with whom he had had the most friendly relations, whom he had enriched and promoted, to do this. They at once turned round upon him, declared that he was attempting to destroy the liberties of his Church, and that from henceforth they would have nothing more to do with him. The threat seems to have been literally carried out. They left him to the company of his household servants, closed the minster, forbade the ringing of the bells, stripped the altars, locked up the archbishop's stall in the choir, and blocked up the door by which he entered the church from his palace. Coincident with this unseemly state of things arose the quarrel with Simon of Apulia.

Refusal of the York clergy to submit to the exactions.

They close the minster and block out the archbishop.

This unprincipled adventurer we have already seen acting as Geoffrey's confidential servant. He had been his agent at Rome in 1190; he it was who commanded the archbishop's retinue when he returned to England:[2] and Geoffrey had rewarded him with the gift of the chancellorship of York, and even promised him the reversion of the provostship of Beverley. In gratitude and hope alike he might have been patient with a master whose difficulties he knew better than anyone else. The news of Henry Marshall's appointment to Exeter reached Geoffrey whilst he was staying at Ripon,[3] and he prepared to fill up the deanery. He had a brother named Peter, probably, as he is not called son of Henry II., the son of his mother by one of her other

Simon of Apulia deserts him and joins the enemies.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 222.
[2] Gir. Camb. p. 390.
[3] Hoveden, iii. 221.

Dispute as to the filling up the deanery.

lovers. Peter had been made archdeacon of Lincoln some years before. Geoffrey now proposed to make him dean of York. He was however at Paris, and Richard had sent from Germany an urgent letter desiring that John of Bethune, provost of Douay and brother to the advocate Baldwin, who had accompanied him on his return from Palestine and shared his captivity, should be appointed. In order to avoid doing this, or leaving the preferment open, Geoffrey consulted his two friends, Simon and Hamo, who were with him at Ripon, and the result of the deliberation was that Simon was nominated. Shortly after, when the dread of Richard's interference had blown over, Geoffrey declared that he intended him merely as a stop gap for his brother Peter.

Simon of Apulia elected by the chapter.

Simon insisted that the appointment was *bonâ fide,* and threw himself on the sympathy of the discontented canons, helping, no doubt, to organize the opposition on the subject of the money grant. The chapter elected him to the deanery, and then Geoffrey, attempting to disarm Richard's anger, named to the same office Philip of Poictiers, the king's favourite chaplain and clerk, who became afterwards bishop of Durham.

Appeals on the subject of the deanery.

Both parties now appealed to Rome, and both took the precaution of laying the circumstances before the king in Germany. Simon visited Richard in person, and so got the first word. The king at first contented himself with forbidding the appeals and summoning

Richard connives.

Geoffrey into his presence; but finding that Geoffrey did not obey the summons, he allowed the canons free action against him.[1]

Geoffrey fails to obey the king's summons.

The archbishop's delay or disobedience was thus accounted for. He had started on the receipt of the king's order, and had reached the coast, when he received the intelligence of the closing of the minster and the other

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 229, 230.

outrageous doings of the chapter.[1] He immediately sent to York by his clerks a peremptory command to the clergy of the cathedral to return to their duties; this they treated with contempt, and the archbishop found that he must return in person. He did so, arrived at York on the first of January 1194, and found the church deserted.[2] Taking counsel, as Hoveden tells us, with prudent men, he substituted for the contumacious clerks another body of chaplains, and excommunicated the canons. The latter, determined to lose no time, sent four of their number to the king. These four were Hamo the precentor, who henceforth throws his influence into the scale against Geoffrey; Geoffrey Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, for whom the archbishop had in earlier years obtained his prebend; William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, who, like Hamo, had in 1190 acted as his agent at Rome; and the archdeacon of the West Riding.[3] They reached Richard before he heard from his brother, took advantage of his momentary irritation, and obtained leave to carry their appeal to Rome. Simon of Apulia was allowed at the same time to prosecute his claim to the deanery, and the whole party proceeded to lay their complaints before Celestine III. A few days after Richard's liberation was arranged, and in March he returned to England.

He visits York and places his own clerks in the minster, in January 1194.

Hamo and others now take part against him.

Simon goes to Rome.

With Richard's return began new complications for Geoffrey. Nottingham, the first place to which Richard directed his way after landing, was in Geoffrey's diocese. There Geoffrey met his brother, and was not unkindly received. He had the good sense even to avoid giving

Richard's return to England.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 223. Gervase says that he had got a good way towards the sea, going by cross country roads in order to carry his cross erect in the province of Canterbury; but was ordered back by the archdeacon of Canterbury, and returned to York, c. 1586. That was perhaps the Canterbury view of the story.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 229, 230.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 272.

Prudence of Geoffrey on this occasion.

new offence to Hubert Walter; and by not carrying his cross erect, showed that he had placed himself under strong restraint.[1] Unfortunately this was not met with like moderation on Hubert's part. He insisted on having his cross carried erect, and when Geoffrey remonstrated, somewhat insolently threw doubts on his right to be regarded as archbishop, winding up with an appeal to Rome against him. Geoffrey complained to the king, who declined to arbitrate, and recommended him not to appear with his cross at the approaching coronation for fear of a quarrel.[2] This caused Geoffrey to absent himself from the coronation, but, anxious to maintain his right, he presented himself to the king at Waltham, near Portsmouth, with cross erect. It was now Hubert's turn to remonstrate, but Richard refused to settle the dispute; it was, he said, the pope's duty, not his. Hubert nursed his anger until the king was gone.

He buys the sheriffdom of Yorkshire.

Notwithstanding this rising cloud, the archbishop and the king were on the best terms during Richard's visit. Geoffrey sat on the king's left hand in the great council of Nottingham,[3] was allowed to purchase the sheriffdom of Yorkshire for 3,000 marks,[4] and to treat with contempt the complaints made against him by clerks and laymen of his diocese for pecuniary exactions, the secret of which was well enough known to the king.[5] He attended the king also at Winchester and Portsmouth; although he absented himself from the coronation, it was partly at the king's request.[6] Richard showed his sense of this behaviour by restoring to him his estates in Anjou and Touraine, and by compelling Longchamp to apologize for, or disavow in legal form, the ill-treatment that Geoffrey had been subjected to at Dover in 1191.[7]

Richard restores his French estates.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 239.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 246, 247, 250.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 240.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 241.

[5] Hoveden, iii. 242.

[6] Hoveden, iii. 246, 247.

[7] Hoveden, iii. 250, 251.

But although Richard may have been sincere in his desire of peace and goodwill to the unfortunate Geoffrey, every glimpse of good luck only served to enhance the disappointment which uniformly followed. Hoveden himself exclaims against his folly in undertaking the sheriffdom, and throwing himself into the power of the king in a lay office. The complaints which at Nottingham and in his brother's presence he was strong enough to ignore, were only silenced for a time. The ear of the justiciar was quick, where the king had been willingly deaf. The news from Rome also was untoward, and the dean and canons were on their way home.

His enemies silenced only for a time.

The archbishop of Canterbury waited some months before he took the first step in accomplishing the ruin of the rival primate. In August or September, however, when Richard had got as far as Guienne, Hubert, in his character of justiciar, sent to York a commission of the royal judges, Earl Roger Bigot, William of Warenne, William Stuteville, Hugh Bardolf, William Briwere, Geoffrey Haget, and William FitzRichard, to hear the complaints of the canons. These barons carried matters with a high hand. The archbishop's servants who were accused of robbery they took and imprisoned; they then summoned Geoffrey himself to appear before them.[1] He refused, took refuge in his manor at Ripon, and was declared contumacious. The whole estates of the see, with the exception of Ripon, were then taken possession of by the king's officers; the canons were replaced in their stalls; and although the justiciar did not venture to assume the sheriffdom or to remove Geoffrey's sub-sheriff, Roger of Batvent, he placed over them both, as *custodes*, William Stuteville and Geoffrey Haget.[2] This

Visitation of the justices at York.

They take possession of the lands of the see: and restore the canons.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 261, 262.

[2] Roger de Batvent acts as under-sheriff to Geoffrey to the end of Richard's reign, as may be ascertained from the Pipe Rolls; at the same time it seems very probable that Geoffrey never paid the 3,000 marks which he had bid for the office. This sum was still due in 1200. Hoveden, iv. 140.

Unjustifiable conduct of the ministers.

was one of the most arbitrary and high-handed proceedings of Hubert's ministry; and hardly anything, either on moral, legal, or constitutional grounds, can be said in excuse for it. The restoration of the canons by force to the places which they had deserted, and to which they had refused to return at the orders of the archbishop, was extremely irregular; and the whole transaction is a serious blot on Hubert's fame.

Return of the appellants from Rome, September 1194.

Scarcely had Geoffrey realized the blow that personal enmity had directed, when the appellants arrived in triumph from Rome. The same month, before Michaelmas, Hamo and the archdeacons of Cleveland and Nottingham presented themselves with papal letters.[1] They had had indeed signal success. Simon of Apulia had been confirmed in the deanery by the pope, the sentences of excommunication issued against the canons had been annulled, and a mandate issued for the restoration of their ecclesiastical rights and properties which had been already effected by the authority of the justiciar. But this was not all: Celestine III. by letters dated May 31 had commissioned the dean of Lincoln and the archdeacons of Leicester and Northampton, to compel the archbishop not merely to restore the property, but to give satisfaction for the loss involved in the seizure of it, and empowered them to assess the damages;[2] a week after he issued a second commission to the bishop of Lincoln, the archdeacon of Northampton, and the prior of Pomfret,[3] in which he rehearsed the heavy charges laid by the clergy of the province and confirmed by the evidence of thirteen abbots, eleven of them Premonstratensian, against Geoffrey. In these the archbishop is described as neglecting all the duties of his high office, as spending his time in hunting and hawking; he never holds ordinations or synods or consecrates churches; the only spiritual function he discharges is excommunication; he

Two commissions on the archbishop's acts issued by Celestine III.

Charges against him.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 272.
[2] Hoveden, iii. 285, 286.
[3] Hoveden, iii. 279–281.

destroys the liberties of the Church, prevents appeals to the holy see, and frustrates by violence the execution of its commands; he misuses his patronage in the most shameless way, shows a marked contempt of the religious orders, and has robbed and maltreated his own canons. The delegates are empowered to hear evidence and send it sealed to Rome. If there be a lack of evidence the archbishop is to be made to find compurgators, three bishops and three abbots: if he fail to do that, notwithstanding the lack of evidence, he is to be deposed. If however he has before receiving their citation appealed to Rome, they are to give him three months' notice, at the expiration of which he must appear at Rome. A more outrageous sentence on an ex-parte statement was never issued, nor is it to be supposed that Celestine, arbitrary and violent as he was, would have condescended to such injustice except under strong pressure. It is to be feared that the measure was pressed by the whole force of the royal agents acting under Hubert Walter's direction. The fact that the eleven complaining abbots were Premonstratensians, members of an order specially affected by Hubert,[1] looks like a strong confirmation of this conjecture.

Points to be examined by the delegates.

But the canons had not been content with this, they had procured a privilege which was to preserve them against all attacks, not only of Geoffrey but of any other archbishop; this is dated on the 16th of June. It first confirms the dean and chapter in the possession of all their estates, customs, and liberties in the ordinary form

Privileges granted at Rome to the chapter of York.

[1] Hubert's abbey, founded at West Dereham, was Premonstratensian, and in his final concord with the monks of Canterbury he proposed to erect a similar house at Lambeth. Ranulf Glanvill, his uncle, founded another, Leystone, in Suffolk; Glanvill's son-in-law, William of Auberville, founded Langdon, in Kent; Helewisia, daughter of Glanvill, founded Coverham abbey in Yorkshire. A large proportion of the Premonstratensian houses in England was thus founded by Hubert's kinsfolk.

New privileges of the chapter.

of charters, but then goes on to direct that the archbishop shall not have the power to issue sentence against any member of the chapter without the consent of the whole body, nor to relax sentences issued by them against their enemies; that the dean shall not do homage to the archbishop, that the archbishop's nominees to the vacant stalls shall be made to take an oath to the dean and chapter, and be installed by the precentor under the mandate of that body, and that if the archbishop shall fail to fill up the vacancies within the time prescribed by the Lateran council, the chapter shall do it in his place by apostolic authority and without appeal.[1] The last of these powers they intended to use with unscrupulous pertinacity against the archbishop.

Restoration of the canons, Sept. 29.

We are not to suppose that all these letters were produced at once, although probably the archbishop's agents would be able to guard him against a surprise. The mandate for the restoration of the canons was however published on Michaelmas day by Hugh de Puiset,[2] and the report of the further measures in contemplation had the effect of hurrying Geoffrey to Normandy. He first appealed against the papal sentence and then betook himself to the king, who for a payment of 2,000 marks ordered him to be reinstated in all his rights and properties, and to be no longer molested by lay power in the exercise of his spiritual functions. This decision of Richard, dated at Mamers on the 3rd of November,[3] had the effect of annulling the proceedings taken by the justiciar in September. At the same time the king at Geoffrey's instigation directed that the estates of three of the canons, Geoffrey archdeacon of Cleveland, William of Stigandby, and Master Erard, should be seized, as their title to the preferment was insufficient. These were the men whose collations had

Geoffrey goes to Normandy and purchases Richard's goodwill in November.

[1] It is printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 503.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 272, 273.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 274.

been sealed by Geoffrey as chancellor after his father's death; they had turned against him the power which his carelessness or chicanery had placed in their hands.[1] Having gained these advantages Geoffrey determined to continue by his brother's side at least until the first violence of the papal procedure should have broken, or more favourable terms could be obtained from Rome. He appointed as his officials at York Master Honorius and Gerard de Rowell,[2] on whom devolved the burden of defending his interests in his absence. He himself did not return to England until after Richard's death.

Geoffrey stays at court.

He appoints Honorius as his official.

The year 1195 opened with a tardy attempt on the part of the judges delegate to examine into the charges against the archbishop. The bishop of Lincoln and his colleagues had given Geoffrey ample time to appeal. On the 15th of January they formally began proceedings at York, heard evidence on both sides, and in accordance with their instructions directed both parties to present themselves at Rome on the 1st of June.[3] About the same time, apparently, the other commission which was directed to assess the damages of the canons held two sittings, one at Torksey, the other at Ancaster, and having heard the claims of the injured parties adjudged the archbishop to pay them a thousand marks.[4]

Proceedings of the delegates at York in January 1195.

Proceedings of the other commission: they assess the damages.

A month after the opening of the commission, the new dean, Simon of Apulia, made his appearance at York; before he reached the gates he was met by a large party

Arrival of the new dean.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 274.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 298.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 230, 231, 278–282.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 286. William Testard, in 1197, paid 300 marks into the exchequer, "pro habendo "archidiaconatu suo, secundum "quod ei adjudicatus fuit a judi- "cibus delegatis. Madox, *Hist. Ex.* 336. Simon of Apulia, in 1195, paid 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, "de dono suo" (Rot. Pip. 7 Rich. I.), and in the eighth year, 1196, Master Erard, the archdeacon of Cleveland, and William of Stigandby owed 100*l.* for recovering the king's favour. In this case Simon's payment at least must have been equivalent to a purchase of his preferments, but it was perhaps dictated by a sense of prospective favours.

Simon of Apulia forces his way to the minster.

of citizens and clergy; he produced letters of confirmation from both the pope and the king and insisted on being received as dean. Two of the archbishop's adherents Master John Otui, and William de Bonneville, protested against this being done until the whole controversy was settled, and in their intemperate zeal laid hands on Simon. He, in the usual way, replied by excommunication. The citizens thereupon gave way and deserted the assailants. He made his way to the minster and was received by the canons in procession on the 12th of February, and on the 15th the bishop of Durham visited the church and confirmed the sentence issued by him against the archbishop's friends. This was Hugh de Puiset's last public act; he was taken ill, on his way from York to London, at Doncaster, and died at Howden on the 3rd of March.[1]

Death of Hugh de Puiset, March 1195.

Although Hugh de Puiset had not taken an overt part against Geoffrey since Richard's return, he had generally been found ready to help the other side. His death no doubt delivered the archbishop from a dangerous rival. It would however have been absurd in Hugh to have joined in the accusations made against Geoffrey at Rome, as nearly all of them might have been brought with much greater plausibility against himself.

Quarrel about the consecration of the Chrism.

The absence of Geoffrey and the death of Hugh de Puiset left the north of England without a resident bishop. The approach of Easter made it an important question to what source the clergy should look for the supply of Chrism, the consecration of which ought to take place on Maundy Thursday. Geoffrey's suffragan, Bishop John of Whithern, came to York a few days before, and offered to perform the ceremony, but the dean and chapter refused his services; he went on to Southwell and did it there, the archbishop's officials undertaking the distribution of it. It is a sign of the prevalent spirit

[1] Hoveden, iii. 283–285.

that the archdeacon of Cleveland on the receipt of the sacred substance threw it on a dunghill. The York clergy applied to Hugh of Lincoln for a supply, but here Archdeacon Peter, the archbishop's brother, interposed and forbade the bishop to grant their request, appealing to Rome on his behalf.[1]

Contempt of the Chrism.

Hubert Walter had now an opportunity of showing his contempt for Geoffrey. The pope had made him on the 18th of March legate of all England. His first measure under his new powers was to come and hold a visitation at York. He came as justiciar as well as legate, on the 11th of June; on the 12th his officers held Assizes; on the 13th he visited St. Mary's and deposed the abbot; and on the two following days held a council at which the leading members of the chapter, Simon, Hamo, and the archdeacons of Cleveland and Nottingham attended.[2] The canons passed at his council are important, but they cannot be shown to have any special bearing on the state of the Church in the province, or on the quarrels with Geoffrey. Although the act of visitation was one of ostentatious contempt, it could hardly have done any harm to the latter; the legate was morally restrained from any substantial injustice; and the only question touching Geoffrey's interests which arose on the occasion was left undecided. The archdeaconry of the West Riding, vacant by death, had been given by Geoffrey first to his brother Peter, who wisely kept out of the hornet's nest, and then to Peter of Dinan,

Hubert becomes legate.

He visits York as legate and justiciar, June 1195.

Results unimportant.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 286, 287.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 292–298. W. Newb. lib. v. cap. 12. The latter writer accounts for the conduct of the canons in attending this visitation thus, "legato potius quem "amicum et patronum optabat, "maluit subjici, quam illius (sc. "Gaufridi) non frænandam poten-"tiam experiri." He mentions a privilege acquired by the church of York a few years before, exempting the archbishop and the church from legatine visitation. This must have been the privilege overruled by Celestine III. in his commission to Hubert. Hoveden, iii. 291.

Hubert avoids involving himself in the local quarrel.

chancellor of Britanny. Peter of Dinan on this occasion demanded installation; the dean and chapter insisted that the appointment under Pope Celestine's recent charter had lapsed to them; Geoffrey's officials appealed, and Hubert not seeing his way to a decision allowed their appeal to stand.[1] Hubert paid a second visit to York at Christmas, but nothing seems to have been done affecting the main question. On one of these two occasions the archbishop's officials refused to receive him as legate, and were in consequence removed by him; but on consideration he restored them, and they retained their authority until the arrival of the sentence from Rome.[2]

Proceedings at Rome.

In the meantime Geoffrey, in attendance on his brother, was letting matters go against him by default at both York and Rome. The 1st of June came, and he did not present himself to the pope. Celestine, unwilling to be harsh with him, prolonged the day of grace until the 18th of November. No appearance was entered then, and, a month after, definite sentence was issued; Geoffrey, as contumacious, was suspended from his spiritual functions, and the administration of the diocese was committed to the dean. Three sets of letters were despatched on the 23rd of December, to the dean, to the clergy, and to the judges delegate; the last enjoining the continuation of the inquiry and the furthering of additional evidence to Rome.[3]

The archbishop is suspended, December 1195.

S. Hugh of Lincoln refuses to deprive Geoffrey.

This last injunction was probably the result of an application of the canons who were offended at the remissness of the judges delegate; they had applied for a decree of suspension against Geoffrey, which S. Hugh had refused, declaring that he would rather be suspended himself than suspend the archbishop.[4] Richard was now

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 297, 298.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 316, 317.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 231, 281, 309–319.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 305, 306.

growing tired of his brother's company. More than once they had had to renew their reconciliation; but Geoffrey, as imprudent as ever, bethought himself at last of rebuking Richard for his sins. This was more than the king at the moment would stand. He went into a violent passion, and directed that he should be disseized both of his archiepiscopal estates and of the sheriffdom.[1]

Geoffrey offends the king again.

The papal mandates reached York early in 1196; the archbishop's officials were removed, the dean undertook the spiritual jurisdiction, and for the time had reached the summit of his ambition. Geoffrey, on hearing the news, made his way at last to Rome, where he appears to have arrived in the spring. With some difficulty he obtained a hearing from Celestine, who was justly provoked at his contumacy; that hearing, however, served materially to alter the complexion of affairs. The accusers admitted that they were unable to prove the charges, and a complete acquittal followed. New letters were issued declaring the innocence of Geoffrey, and "insinua-"ting" that the accusations were false and fictitious.[2]

He goes to Rome early in 1196.

The pope issues letters in his favour.

Richard's indignation at this news seems to prove that his previous show of reconciliation, however often repeated, was insincere, and that his sole purpose throughout the struggle was to wring money from Geoffrey; whilst they were friends he extorted it in one way, when they quarrelled he confiscated the estates of the see. He now saw that the papal acquittal would make Geoffrey practically independent of him; he immediately directed that the sentence should be ignored, and took upon himself the bestowal of the vacant preferments. Geoffrey hearing this, returned from France, which he had already reached on his way home, and retired to Rome.[3] We lose sight of him for some time: he probably remained, if not at Rome, out of Richard's

Richard opposes the restoration of the archbishop.

Geoffrey goes again to Rome.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 287.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 7.

[3] Hoveden, iv. 8.

Rumours of poison and forged letters.

reach for more than a year. During this time very untoward reports were brought to England. Ralph of Wigetoft, Geoffrey's agent at Rome, being on his death-bed, confessed to the pope that he had sent forged letters to England. Celestine warned Hubert Walter of this, and by his commands Roger of Ripon, the bearer of Ralph's letters, was arrested, and a quantity of poison found upon him. This he declared his master had given him to poison Dean Simon, who accordingly was summoned to London; the poison, in the shape of gold rings and a belt, was presented to him, and, with the letters, burnt at Tothill fields. The bearer of them was imprisoned. The story, of which the details are very suspicious, was made a ground for new charges against Geoffrey.[1]

New appointments to the York dignities.

The peremptory action of Richard decided the struggle for the York preferments against the archbishop, whose absence in 1196 lost him some very fine windfalls. Bouchard de Puiset died, and poor Hamo was again disappointed of the treasurership; the king gave it to Master Eustace the keeper of his seal; William de Chimeli was made a bishop, and the archdeaconry of Richmond was likewise bestowed on Eustace. Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle, died and his stall was given to Aimeri Thebert, nephew of the new bishop of Durham, who had succeeded Bouchard in his Durham preferment.[2] In all these cases Geoffrey's claims were passed over, and the chapter did not venture to assert their right against the king. Richard further nominated Adam of Thornovere, Geoffrey's old servant and recent opponent, to the archdeaconry of the West Riding; but Peter of Dinan, whom the archbishop himself had appointed, managed also to obtain a nomination from the king. The two claimants thereupon agreed to divide the revenues of the

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[1] Hoveden, iv. 15, 16.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 12, 14.

office, and to occupy the archdeacon's stall, when they both happened to be in York, on alternate days.[1]

Richard's attempts in 1198 to reconcile the archbishop and the canons.

Matters languished on until the spring of 1198; and Richard then set himself in earnest to remedy the disgraceful state of anarchy which had so long prevailed. Early in the year he summoned Geoffrey to court, to meet the dean and canons. Geoffrey arrived first, found Richard placable, and made his peace with him once more, Richard on this occasion promising that he would not again interfere with the bestowal of his patronage. He also granted him full restitution, and sent one of his clerks with Honorius, Geoffrey's official, to England to enforce it. Geoffrey was not to return immediately to England, but to go to Rome on the king's business; he set off for Rome; two days after his departure the dean and canons arrived at court, and so worked on the king that he delayed the restitution of the archbishopric until Geoffrey's return; and this done, not being anxious to face the archbishop, they hastened back in triumph to York.[2]

Defeated by Dean Simon.

New attempt on the king's part.

Several events were now making it extremely necessary that a decision should be come to. Celestine III. was dead, and Innocent III. was likely to look upon matters with much clearer eyes than his predecessor. Hubert Walter's influence with Richard was becoming smaller, and within a few months he had to resign the justiciarship. The promotion of Eustace the chancellor, and Geoffrey Muschamp, opened again the question of the preferments.[3] The news of the pope's death seems to have stopped Geoffrey on his way to Rome; he returned to the king to Andely, and Simon and the canons were recalled to meet him.[4] Richard proposed an arbitration; the archbishop of Rouen and the bishops of Winchester and Worcester would act as umpires. Geoffrey

He proposes an arbitration.

[1] Hoveden, iv. 8, 9.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 44, 45.

[3] Hoveden, iv. 41, 45.

[4] Hoveden, iv. 51, 52.

The negotiations again broken off by the chapter.

consented; the dean and canons refused; they demanded a tribunal consisting of secular canons only, and insisted that before the general question was discussed the archbishop should confirm them all in the preferments which the king had given them. Their arguments weighed with Richard more than can be accounted for, if he were moved by argument alone. He broke off the negotiation and sent back the canons more jubilant than ever.[1]

Geoffrey bestows the archdeaconry of Richmond on Honorius.

The treasurership and archdeaconries of Richmond and Cleveland were now vacant. The first of these was at last handed over to Hamo, and the precentorship vacated by his promotion was given to Reginald Arundel. The archdeaconry of Richmond Geoffrey bestowed on his official Honorius, exacting from him, however, the concession of the right of institution to benefices, a peculiar right of the archdeaconry given in the time of Henry I. as compensation for the loss of the jurisdiction in the new diocese of Carlisle.[2] Honorius had been until now a faithful servant of Geoffrey; on his promotion he, like Simon of Apulia and with a somewhat similar excuse, turned against him and involved him in another long litigation. He now hastened into Yorkshire, received the submission of the clergy and presented his letters of appointment at York.[3] But Simon was ready for him.

Opposition of the dean.

The letters were informal, they did not mention the dean; moreover, the king had nominated Roger of S. Edmund, and by virtue of the privilege of pope Celestine Roger was installed; Honorius appealed, but was sent

One canon only takes Geoffrey's side.

about his business. Hoveden adds that but one of the canons, Hugh Murdac, who on a previous occasion had taken part against Geoffrey, now refused to join in the conspiracy against him, and was excommunicated by the dean.[4] He had appealed before the sentence, but the violent and unscrupulous Italian showed no regard to

[1] Hoveden, iv. 53.
[2] Hoveden, iv. 177–180.
[3] Hoveden, iv. 52.
[4] Hoveden, iv. 53.

this, and on Hugh's presenting himself in the choir, he ordered the candles to be extinguished and stopped the service.

He is excommunicated.

On the failure of the negotiations at Andely, Geoffrey proceeded to Rome and laid his case before the new pope. Innocent III. saw through the duplicity of the king, the unscrupulous craft of Simon, and the wrong-headedness of Geoffrey; he wrote to Richard begging him to be reconciled with his brother, and holding out an indistinct threat of interdict if he should not. Richard thereupon made a last attempt at compromise; he sent the bishops of Durham, Ely, Winchester, Worcester, and Bath to propose peace; Geoffrey was to confirm the king's gifts; the king would then restore him to his see.[1] Geoffrey demurred; would the mediating bishops put their advice on record that it might go sealed to the pope? They refused, and the treaty was again broken off. Geoffrey returned to Rome and obtained a decision in his favour on all points. The king's agents reported to him that this was to be enforced by interdict. Before, however, the letters were issued, April 28, 1199, Richard was dead. Geoffrey had advanced eight days' journey from Rome when he heard of it; he returned, to make assurance doubly sure, to the holy city.[2]

Return of Geoffrey to Rome: Innocent III. writes in his favour.

Failure of a new attempt at compromise.

Letters of restoration.

Death of the king.

Much of the interest of the contest now terminates. John, at all events at this period of his life, did not dislike Geoffrey so much as Richard had done. The difference in their age, probably, precluded the feeling of personal rivalry, which had embittered the relations of Richard with a brother, whose early exploits and military accomplishments were little inferior to his own. In the great struggle of 1191 John had taken the part of Geoffrey, and before the papal sentence in his favour reached England, the change of sovereign had had the effect of

Relations of John and Geoffrey.

[1] Hoveden, iv. 66, 67.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 67, 92.

Improvement in Geoffrey's prospects.

improving the archbishop's prospects. Honorius was immediately received as archdeacon of Richmond;[1] Simon thereupon excommunicated him, and John was obliged peremptorily to direct the *status quo* to be observed until he should be able to decide. His decision, promulgated a few weeks after his coronation, was in Geoffrey's favour. Whilst still in England he ordered that the archbishop's manors should be restored as soon as he returned.

Restoration of Geoffrey.

The brothers met at Rouen on the 24th of June; several of the canons placed their presentations in the hands of Geoffrey as having been illegally acquired, and he proceeded to readjust them as equitably as he could. Adam of Thornovere, the dean Simon, the new precentor, and others still held out.[2]

Mediation of Peter of Capua.

Cardinal Peter of Capua had been sent by Innocent to arrange, if possible, the many causes of discontent and trouble now operating in both England and France, and so pave the way to a new crusade. Under his influence the two parties agreed to accept as arbitrators the bishop of Lincoln and Master Columb, the pope's subdeacon; but the influence of Hubert Walter and Geoffrey FitzPeter was used to prevent the completion of any arrangement, and mutual recriminations at first seemed the only result.[3]

Formal peace concluded in 1200.

At last, towards the end of the year 1200, a formal peace was concluded at Westminster. Bishop Herbert of Salisbury and abbot Alan of Tewkesbury, the last judges delegate appointed by the pope, were accepted as arbitrators: after long discussion Geoffrey received to the kiss of peace, first, his old ungrateful servant William Testard, then Reginald Arundel the precentor, and at last Dean Simon himself. Personal enmity being at an end, all further questions were to be settled in the chapter-house at York.[4]

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[1] Hoveden, iv. 89.
[2] Hoveden, iv. 93.
[3] Hoveden, iv. 99.
[4] Hoveden, iv. 126.

The great ecclesiastical dispute ends here. The peace settled no principle, for no principle was involved in the quarrel. It would be well if we could assert that Geoffrey had learned wisdom and moderation by it. But this was not the case. A month was scarcely over when he had rushed into a quarrel with John. The king had summoned him to go to France; he had neglected to obey; he had refused to let his tenants pay the carucage; John was provoked; he was again dispossessed by the sheriff of Yorkshire, his own tenure of the sheriffdom having at last expired; and he retaliated by excommunicating not only the sheriff and all his abettors, but all those who had irritated the king against him. At the same time he excommunicated the townsmen of Beverley for breaking into his park.[1]

Quarrel of Geoffrey with John.

John, acting under good advice, tried to avoid another struggle. The archbishop in resisting the royal exactions would have a strong party on his side, the same party, in fact, that he had formerly alienated by the exactions he had made in the interest of Richard; the king ordered his estates to be restored on the understanding that he should give an account of himself before the Curia Regis, and pay a sum of three thousand marks which he owed king Richard.[2] Some insults offered by his servants to John, on his visit to Beverley in January 1201, embittered matters still further, but at Midlent he received his brother at York and made peace again with a pecuniary fine; and in May John issued a full charter of restitution in return for a promise of a thousand pounds sterling, for the payment of which the archbishop pledged his barony to the king.[3]

Moderation of John on this occasion.

Geoffrey purchases his favour.

At this point Hoveden's chronicle ends; but we leave Geoffrey, although reconciled with John, again engaged in a struggle with the chapter. The suit of Honorius was still being prosecuted.[4] Reginald of Arundel the

New quarrels with the chapter.

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[1] Hoveden, iv. 139, 140.
[2] Hoveden, iv. 140.
[3] Hoveden, iv. 157, 163.
[4] Hoveden, iv. 177–184.

Constant quarrels of the dean and archbishop.

precentor was dead; Geoffrey nominated a new one; the dean objected. Geoffrey appointed his official, Ralph of Kyme, to the archdeaconry of Cleveland, which he had unwisely left unclaimed since 1198; the dean declared that it had lapsed, and that the chapter had presented Hugh Murdac. Geoffrey insisted on installing Ralph; Simon insisted that only the precentor could lawfully install, and now there was no precentor. So Geoffrey excommunicated Hugh Murdac, whom two years before the dean had excommunicated as his partizan.[1] Next the provost of Beverley died. Geoffrey appointed his brother Morgan; Simon appealed against this on the ground that the archbishop had promised the reversion of the provostship to himself, the bitterest, most ungrateful, most unscrupulous of his foes![2]

Atmosphere of Hoveden's last days.

Such was the atmosphere in which the last days of Roger Hoveden were spent; an atmosphere so redolent of curses that one cannot wonder at his belief that the devil was just then unloosed. Reflexions on the story are needless.

Conclusion of Geoffrey's adventures.

Archbishop Geoffrey lived for more than ten years after our chronicle closes. His struggles with the dean and canons continue, but they are lost sight of in the more important contests into which he was forced by John's unconstitutional demands for money. He never again was brought so low as he had been under Richard, but in 1207 he was compelled to choose between unconditional submission to John and exile. He chose the latter; left England, rather than pay the sums demanded by the king, and never returned. He died in 1212, and was buried in the church of the order of Grandmont, Notre Dame du Parc, in the neighbourhood of Rouen.[3]

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[1] Hoveden, iv. 158.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 174.

[3] Dr. Ducarel saw his monument with this epitaph:—

"Regis erat natus, meritis et ho-
"nore probatus,
"Vermibus esca datus, his qui
"jacet incineratus.
"Hic quid opes sequeris, quid,
"homo, fugientia quæris?
"oc speculo quid eris, finem-
"que tuum mediteris.

His character has been variously read; all things considered he seems to have resembled Richard in his nobler traits and in his least repulsive faults; to have been generous, impulsive, and open-hearted; his sufferings were the result, firstly, of his unhappy position, laying him open to insult and extortion, and increasing his natural irritability; secondly, of that thoughtless, violent, impracticable temperament, which made him the victim of unscrupulous opponents, and which seemed to justify the oppressiveness of his brothers and the ingratitude of his servants. Like Ishmael, his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him. Otherwise he left behind him the reputation of personal temperance and a pure life.[1]

Character of archbishop Geoffrey.

II. The special importance of the ministerial career of Archbishop Hubert Walter arises from the facts, first, that being the nephew, pupil, and confidential friend of Ranulf Glanvill, the prime minister of Henry II., and having occupied a position involving constant and close intercourse with that king during the latter years of his life, he must be regarded as the most likely person to have had a thorough acquaintance with the principles that guided the reforms of Henry's reign, and as probably developing those principles in the changes or improvements which he adopted when he was himself practically supreme; and, secondly, that the period during which he either exercised the authority of the crown as justiciar, or in his offices of chancellor, archbishop, and legate, brought his powerful influence to bear on the sovereign as well as the people, was the last

Constitutional importance of Hubert Walter's ministry.

"Cur fundum fundo cumulas,
"quadrasque rotundum?
"Stercus in immundum tandem
"restat tibi fundum.
"Sed vivas mundo ut sis salvus
"a morte secundo."—Ducarel, *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, p. 38. It is interesting to observe that he was buried in a church of the good men of Grandmont, as his father had wished to be. The day of his death was Dec. 18. Stapleton, Norman Rolls, ii. clxx.

[1] Stubbs (ed. Twysden), c. 1724.

Importance of the transitional period preceding Magna Carta.

period of orderly government that preceded the granting of Magna Carta. On Hubert's death the regular administration of the country was thrown out of gear by the tyrannical conduct of John, who had felt himself under the influence of his minister, as long as he lived, to a degree which mere gratitude and the sense of his usefulness can only insufficiently explain. Hubert's advice had been with Richard all-powerful; with John it had a certain weight, sufficient to modify if not to overrule his self-willed behaviour; he exercised a control, the removal of which was felt by the king as a great relief, whilst the nation, with whom, as his master's servant, he had never been popular, found almost immediately that in him they had lost their best friend, the only bulwark strong enough to resist or to break the attack of royal despotism.

Hubert's relations with Richard and John.

Character of Hubert's policy.

In tracing through the measures of Hubert and the men of his school, certain steps of growth and development which connect the legal reforms of Henry II. with the improved sense of public law and national right that find their expression in the great Charter, I am not so rash as to claim for him the character of a great politician, or even a consciously intentional programme for the education of the people for the exercise of self-government. The utmost that could be predicated of him in that direction would be that he was wise enough to see that an extension of self-agency on the part of the people in the lines in which they were accustomed to act for local business, was a pledge of peace and good behaviour; that the more they could be made to perceive that every man has a stake in the public weal, and may take a share in the maintenance of the public peace, the more certain would be the dependence of the commonwealth on the people; the more thorough and lasting the peace, the safer and quieter the country, the more ready and the more able it would be to supply the wants of the crown.

Character of constitutional progress in England.

The growth of our constitution was never, at least during the middle ages, sensibly affected by philosophical or doctrinaire views. The several steps of growth have been almost always of a character that might seem accidental, were it not that even in their most experimental forms they testify to an increasing confidence on the part of the rulers, in the wisdom of trusting to the people, and a corresponding sense on the people's part, of the wisdom of a just and moderate use of their powers, as the surest way to retain and increase them. For example, in the process by which the custom of county representation,—itself being, as the concentration of all local machinery, the basis of English self-government,—reached its growth, no step is more certain or important than that by which the principle of electing knights representative to choose the grand juries and recognitors of the assizes was introduced. Yet no one will for a moment think of asserting that that custom was introduced in order to make a conscious advance towards the working out of the principles of liberty. Neither when we regard the custom of assessment by jury, as a step in the education of the people towards taking the command of the national purse, do we for a moment contemplate that education as a purpose in the mind of the ministers who originated the plan. The result is not accidental, because it sprang from the increase of confidence between the governors and the governed, and proceeded by the evolution of principles, the working of which we can trace, in measures which suggested themselves as the readiest for the moment and occasion; but were it not for this, it might seem as if the end and the means had only the most casual connexion. And so throughout the whole story. The English constitution owes all in it that is peculiar to itself to the accumulation of precedents that were found to answer other ends than those for which they were originally devised; it is full of anomalies and abounds

Character of constitutional progress in England.

in checks and counterchecks which would be intolerable in an ideal polity; its history is a very chapter of accidents and experiments until it is read in the light of this truth.

As law took the place of despotism, and organization succeeded to routine; as peace and security increased wealth, and the consciousness of wealth made peace and security more precious; as the people educated themselves by the exercise of their judicial and economical powers on a small scale, for the exercise of the same powers on a great scale; the advance towards a more or less perfect system of self-government was found to be rapidly accelerating. The source of the advance was in the deeper current to which the outward and visible signs of it were ascribable; signs, the relation of which to the main result was on a superficial view little else than accidental. But the actual result was shaped by those signs. In the strong conservatism of English politics every such sign is incorporated and perpetuated. The expedient of to-day is a precedent for all time; if it fails it is not cast aside and a new one devised, but its failure is remedied by some new and special contrivance which in its turn is incorporated, is found to answer some other end, and is perpetuated too. The structure, however inconvenient, is not demolished and rebuilt, but a room is added here and a passage there; the chapel of the old house becomes the muniment room of the new; the presence chamber of the old palace, a mere passage to the halls and courts of the full-grown edifice; but every original chamber remains, and without it the structure would not be, as it would not have become, what it is. With the superficial student and the empiric politician, it is too common to relegate the investigation of such changes to the domain of archæology. I shall not attempt to rebut the imputation; only if such things are archæology, then archæology is history; and that is as much as its most fervent students would

ask for it. If by archæology is meant the science of the obsolete, I deny that they are archæological; it is only to the plucked flower that the root is archæologically related. The healthy nation has a memory as well as aspirations involved in the consciousness of its identity; it has a past no less living than its future. Even the energy that is based on reform and repentance cannot afford to think of that past as the dead burying its dead.

Constitutional history not archæological.

Hubert's career as justiciar and chancellor.

Hubert Walter undertook the office of Great Justiciar at the beginning of the year 1194, and retained it until the middle of the year 1198. On John's accession he became chancellor, and continued in that post until his death, exercising, however, through his important position as legate and archbishop, an amount of authority that no chancellor before him had enjoyed, and scarcely inferior to what he had possessed as justiciar. It is to his career, however, as justiciar that the following remarks chiefly apply. That portion of his history is the one illustrated by Hoveden, and it is also the one in which such principles of administration as he had find their freest expression.

Summary of the events of his administration.

The principal events of this administration were, in the first year of it, the collecting of the large sum to be paid for Richard's ransom, the management of the king himself during his visit to England, and the judicial iter of 1194. The year 1195 is marked by the archbishop's appointment as legate, and the circumstances which attended his first exercise of his new powers. Hoveden's pages are filled with the troubles of Archbishop Geoffrey, and the only significant constitutional measures are those taken for the maintenance of the public peace. In the year 1196 come the design of remodelling the Exchequer administration, the riot of William FitzOsbert, and Hubert's first threat of resignation. The assize of measures is the only important act of the year 1197. The following year is remarkable for the successful opposition of S. Hugh of Lincoln to an unconstitutional

Summary of the events of Hubert's administration.

demand of Richard; for the elaborate scheme devised for the assessment and collection of the carucage; and for the withdrawal of the archbishop from the office of justiciar. As all these events are given by Hoveden in detail, and as his account of them is not to any important extent complicated by the statements of contemporaries, it is not necessary to reproduce it in this place. It will be sufficient if I attempt, under the two heads of judicial and financial business, to point out the bearings of Hubert's policy, and to show the way in which his measures were tending to the end of self-government.

Judicial and financial business.

Magna Carta being the translation into the language of the thirteenth century of the ideas of the eleventh, through the forms of the twelfth, we may naturally look for some significant transitional data in the policy of a minister with such antecedents as those of Hubert Walter.

I. Financial collection of Richard's ransom.

The financial history comes first both in place and importance. The effort that England made for the ransom of Richard far transcended anything of the kind that had taken place before. It comprised all the ancient devices for procuring supplies, and formed a precedent for new ones. The proceedings by which it was carried out fall partly in the year 1193 and partly in 1194, for the aids demanded by Richard in person in the latter year were probably intended to complete the sum required of him, although it cannot be said with any certainty that they were so applied; and it is not quite clear, from either the language of the chroniclers or the public records, how the disposal of the funds levied in 1193 is to be distinguished from that of 1194.[1]

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[1] The measures taken are described by Hoveden in more places than one. In vol. iii. p. 210 he mentions first the demand of a fourth part of revenue and mobilia, of the scutage, and of the wool, and the treasure of the churches. At p. 225, after recapitulating these in different order, he adds that some of the bishops took a fourth, some a tenth, of the revenue of the clergy. At p. 222 he says that Archbishop

Methods used for raising the ransom.

The sum to be raised was after some negotiation fixed at 150,000 marks, 100,000*l.* sterling: an amount more than twice as large as the whole revenue of the country accounted for in the last year's exchequer of Henry II. Unprecedented as the occasion was, it does not appear to have led the way to any national deliberation on ways and means. Richard wrote urgently to his principal barons and prelates, but the responsibility of the budget was undertaken by queen Eleanor and the justices; they demanded a scutage from the tenants by knight service, a hidage or carucage from all tenants in socage, a grant of a fourth part of revenue and goods from all persons whatsoever, by way of donum or aid; the wool of the Cistercians and Gilbertines, and the gold, silver, and jewels of the churches. The "communis assensus"[1] which admitted the demand, must be

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Geoffrey demanded a fourth part of the revenue of the canons of York. In the history of the council of Nottingham in 1194 he specifies the king's demand of the carucage, iii. 242. Yet the mention of the scutage and carucage occurs first in the Pipe Roll of 1194. Is it possible that the imposts raised in 1193 were collected by some process different from the ordinary one of the Exchequer? It was certainly entrusted to special officers (vol. iii. 212), but it is more probable that the measures of 1194 were merely the legal carrying out of the plan devised in 1193, than that two scutages should be collected for the same purpose in two successive years, of which only one should be mentioned in the national accounts. William of Newburgh expatiates on the disappointment that was felt at the insufficiency of the sums first raised: "Putabatur "quidem tanta pecuniarum coacer- "vatio redemptionis regiæ summam "excedere, quam tamen non attigit, "cum universæ particulæ Lundo- "niis convenissent ad summam; "quod accidisse creditur per frau- "dem executorum. Denique prop- "ter hanc primæ collationis in- "sufficientiam, ministri regii se- "cundam tertiamque instaurant, "quosque locupletiores pecuniis "spoliant, manifestum rapinarum "dedecus honesto redemptionis "regiæ nomine palliant." After mentioning the collection of the treasures of the churches, he proceeds: "Tota tamen illa opum "coacervatio, ut dicitur, ad com- "plendam regiæ redemptionis atque "expensarum ejus summam minus "sufficere potuit." Lib. iv. cap. 38.

[1] "Statutum est communi as- "sensu," R. de Diceto, 670. This writer does not mention the scutage or carucage under the year 1193,

Aid for Richard's ransom.

attributed not to the vote of any general assembly, but to the feeling of common helplessness. The aid was one of the three customary aids, and even under Magna Carta might be taken without reference to the common council of the realm.

The scutage.

(1.) In demanding a scutage of 20*s.* on the knight's fee the justices did not go beyond the average rate of scutage. The rate in the 33rd of Henry II. was the same, and the three other scutages raised in Richard's reign were also 20*s.* on the knight's fee. John's first scutage was raised to two marks. The sum thus levied must have amounted to not less than 25,000*l.* if rigorously collected; but it was probably assessed on the old system, and if so would not amount to more than 12,000*l.*[1]

The hidage or carucage.

(2.) The hidage or carucage, if levied at 2*s.* on the hide or carucate, must have been nearly the same in amount as the ancient Danegeld;[2] and produced a sum of about 5,000*l.* This sort of impost had been levied during Henry II.'s reign, generally under the name of *donum*, and as supplementary to the scutage.

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an additional presumption that Hoveden's statements refer generally to the imposts raised in the two years for the purpose. See the last note.

[1] If we compare the account given by Madox from the Pipe Rolls of the sums paid as scutage in 1172 with those paid in 1194, we shall find them nearly identical; *e.g.* in both cases the archbishop of York pays 20*l.* for his knights, William Fossard 31*l.* 10*s.*, and so on. If the same sums were paid, no doubt the same deductions were made, and the same compositions held good. The scutage of 1194 would thus produce no more than those of Henry II.'s reign, This enables us to understand the relief given by the 44th article of the Magna Carta of 1217, "Scutagium "capiatur de cetero sicut capi con- "suevit tempore Henrici regis avi "nostri;" John's scutages having been larger in amount and arbitrarily imposed. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* pp. 411, 441.

[2] On the hypothesis stated in the last note. For instance, the hidage of 1194 was in Somerset 293*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*; in Dorset, 241*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* The Danegeld levied in 1156 was, in Somerset, 277*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*; and in Dorset, 228*l.* 5*s.* The difference might be accounted for by either the reclaiming of waste or the varying number of persons excused. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* pp. 411, 412, 476, 477, &c.

The grant of a fourth of revenue and mobilia.

(3.) The grant of a fourth part of revenue and mobilia may be contrasted with the two particulars just mentioned. It no doubt took this form in consequence of the urgency of the occasion, and was the source of the largest portion of the sum achieved. Although revenue and personal property had been long liable to taxation in the shape of talliage and donum ; this appears to be the first occasion on which they were subjected directly to central taxation. The *Dialogus de Scaccario* describes the two methods of determining the incidence of talliage ; *per capita*,[1] poll tax, or local assessment. Here, however, we have a direct demand of the central authority on the individual. The principle was, however, not quite a novelty although the form was so. The assize of the Saladin tithe formed the precedent for demanding a fixed portion of each man's goods, and the assize of arms brought personal property under direct contribution for the national defence. Either of these ordinances would also have afforded a precedent for an equitable method of assessment by a jury of the venue ; but we have no authority that shows it to have been followed on this occasion. This impost is the precedent for the grants of subsidies in the shape of tithes, sevenths, thirteenths, fifteenths, and other proportions, which in the next century largely supersede the earlier methods of taxation.

Precedents for this impost, and its importance as a precedent.

Demand of wool.

(4.) The demand of the wool of the Cistercians and Gilbertines is an important precedent also for the raising of revenue on and through the staple article of English production.

(5.) The demand of the treasures of the churches, an

[1] *Per capita* may mean rather a household or family tax than a poll tax ; it was the arrangement by which all the payers paid equally, without respect to the difference of their ability. To alter this and substitute an assessment by which each man would pay in proportion to his wealth was the pretext of the riot of William FitzOsbert. Hoveden, iv. 5. See *Dialogus de Scaccario*, lib. ii. cap. 13.

Demand of the treasures of churches.

expedient which, although occasionally threatened by our other sovereigns,[1] was not actually repeated until the days of Henry VIII., is a sign of the enormous effort made by the government on this occasion, too enormous to be taken as a safe precedent. Unfortunately we have no clue whatever to the actual proportions of the required sum made up from these three last sources. The country endured the united pressure of taxes which had never been imposed before at the same moment, and of some that were never proposed again. England, although the largest and wealthiest part, was far from being the whole, of the area to be taxed[2]; and yet either because the money was not honestly applied, or because the produce fell short of the estimates, considerable arrears of the ransom were unpaid in 1195.

Payments in 1194.

In the council of Nottingham in 1194 Richard demanded a carucage of 2*s.* on the carucate; as the mention of hidage comes into the Pipe Rolls only in this year, we must conclude that this was the occasion on which this portion of the revenue applied to the ransom

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[1] This is illustrated, as well as the demand of the wool, by the measures taken by Edward I. when in severe financial difficulties in 1294. *Hemingb. Chron.* vol. ii. pp. 53, 54.

[2] The Norman Exchequer Roll of 1194 is lost. In that of 1195 is an entry stating that Geoffrey the Exchanger (Cambitor) renders account of 22,891*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* Angevin, for 5,722*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* sterling; and 4,600*l.* and 400*l.* Angevin; altogether 27,891*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* Angevin, of which 16,000*l.* Angevin, answering to 6,000 marks of silver, was paid to Ruffus de Volto and Everard the chamberlain, the emperor's messengers, for the delivery of the hostages. Stapleton, vol. i. p. 136. This may have been, however, only the English contribution in transitu. Further on, p. 172, William Poignart renders account of the receipt of 4,000 marks raised by talliage on the town of Caen for the king's ransom, an enormous sum. The citizens of London in 1194 owed 1,500 marks of *donum*, "pro benevolentia domini regis et pro libertatibus suis conservandis et de auxilio suo ad redemptionem domini regis" (Madox, 412), a statement which shows that they were determined to get all they could for their money. It is very unfortunate that all our information on this most important business is fragmentary.

was granted. The language of Hoveden leads to the conclusion that in form it was an innovation.[1] On the same occasion he asked for the wool of the Cistercians, who compounded for it with a fine. Probably in this case also the negotiation was supplementary to that of the year 1193. The king further demanded a third of the military service of the country to go with him to Normandy. If I am right in supposing that both the scutage and the carucage were collected on the ancient assessments which had been in use in Henry II.'s reign, the largest part of the burden of the ransom must have been defrayed from the donum of the fourth part of revenue and personal property, the most oppressive and general of the imposts; and we may attribute to the inquisitorial and universal pressure of this exaction, the discontent with the fiscal administration which seems to have followed, as well as the urgent measure of reform which the justiciar attempted later in the year.

Their supplementary character.

The judicial iter of 1194 was the necessary consequence of Richard's return and of the restoration of the governmental machinery. Like the similar proceedings under Henry II. it was directed with a view to fiscal advantage; the inquest of sheriffs of 1170[2] was followed as a precedent; exact inquiry was made into the escheats, patronage, wardships, and other feudal incidents, and into the debts and available property of John. Strict directions were given for the re-stocking of the lands in the royal possession, and for the supervision of the commercial and monetary dealings of the Jews. A talliage of cities, towns, and demesne lands was also ordered.[3] A measure, however, of far greater importance which the justiciar proposed, the examination into the accounts of

Fiscal measures involved in the iter of 1194.

A talliage ordered.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 242.

[2] See Benedict, vol. iii., pref., lxvi., clv.–clviii.

[3] This talliage, cruel enough after the enormous exactions of the year, is accounted for in the Pipe Roll of 1195, Madox, p. 486, and partly probably in that of 1196.

Examination of the sheriffs' accounts threatened, but postponed.

receipts taken by the sheriffs, bailiffs, foresters, and other servants of the Exchequer, since the beginning of the reign, was deferred.[1] Such an examination would no doubt have shown the very great discrepancy between the sums collected by the local officers and those which were paid into the treasury; would have proved the often suspected fact that the system of ferm or composition was ruinous to the exchequer, which lost the benefit of such increments as would arise from the extension of cultivated lands and improvement in agriculture; and would have demonstrated the necessity of a new and general system of assessment. It was defeated, however, probably by the influence of the fiscal officers; although Richard was in the greatest straits for money, and even raising funds by granting licences for tournaments which had the year before been forbidden by the pope.[2]

Scutages of 1195 and 1196.

The Pipe Rolls of 1195 testify to the collection of a scutage for the army of Normandy imposed in the seventh year of Richard, and those of 1196 to a third scutage imposed in the eighth year; both of these were of the same amount, 20*s.* on the knight's fee.[3] Neither of these is noticed directly by Hoveden. In the latter year the king was so much dissatisfied with his receipts from England that he renewed the proposition for a visitation of the Exchequer, and, greatly against the archbishop's wishes, sent over the abbot of Caen, a clerk well

Renewal of a project of exchequer reform in 1196.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 267.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 268.

[3] Madox, 443, 444. These are not to be supposed to be collections of arrears; they are distinctly called, the first, "Secundum Scutagium "exercitus Normanniæ assisum "anno præterito," *i. e.* 1195, Rot. Pip. 8 Rich. I.; the second, "Ter-"tium Scutagium exercitus Nor-"manniæ assisum hoc anno," *i. e.* 1196, *ibid.* The first scutage of Richard being apparently one for Wales, levied in 1189 or 1190, and accounted for in the latter year. These three were scutages in the restricted sense of commutation of service, and the sum raised in the same way for the ransom, although called also a scutage, is not numbered amongst them, but regarded as an *aid.*

versed in the method of business pursued in the Norman exchequer, to make inquiry into the receipts of the royal officers.[1] The carrying out of a measure which, however necessary, would be very distasteful to the officials, was again impeded, this time by the death of the commissioner to whom it was confided. The abbot died at London a few days after his arrival.

It is again defeated.

We may conjecture that Richard was prompted to this proposition chiefly by his own necessities, but he may partly have been influenced by the condition of popular opinion, which insisted that whilst the nation was heavily burdened the crown was poor, and that the fault must be laid upon the ministry. This feeling found its expression in the revolt of William FitzOsbert or Longbeard,[2] which broke out shortly after the death of the abbot of Caen. The ostensible reason of the disturbance was the unfairness of the assessment for the taxes payable by the citizens of London. Hoveden, who seems to have regarded the grievance as a real one, distinctly states that it was caused first by the frequency of the imposts, and secondly by the fact that, owing to the craft of the richer citizens, the main part of the burden fell on the poor. That the higher rank of citizens had the power of doing this, either by raising the sums demanded

Discontent of the people and of the king at the state of the finances.

William FitzOsbert's movement.

[1] Hoveden, iv. 5. W. Newburgh, lib. v. cap. 19. The latter authority states that the abbot obtained the commission by assuring the king that he was cheated of half his revenue by the officials of the exchequer: "fraude officialium re-"giorum ærario ejus plurimum "deperire; qua nimirum depre-"hensa et castigata, absque omni "provincialium gravamine duplicia "posse fisco accedere."

[2] William of Newburgh (v. 20), although expressing an opinion condemnatory of William FitzOsbert, distinctly connects the two events: "Similitudine vel causæ vel pro-"positi consonare videbantur. Ab-"bas enim ut commoda regia cum "quiete provincialium quæreret, "fraudem atque effrenem avaritiam "officialium regiorum castigandam "esse censebat. Iste autem . . . . "allegans . . . . quod ad omne edic-"tum regium divites, propriis for-"tunis parcentes, pauperibus per "potentiam omne onus imponerent, "et ærarium principis multa summa "fraudarent." Nearly the same words as Hoveden uses.

Probable explanation of William FitzOsbert's movement.

per capita,[1] or by unfairly assessing the poorer people, is indeed clear. It is probable, moreover, that the ruling body was in close connexion with the Exchequer,[2] the monetary dealings of which brought them in contact; and that the justiciar, on interfering in the dispute, took their side too strongly. That William Longbeard was an ordinary demagogue, a deserter of the ranks with which his birth naturally associated him, may also be true;[3] but the fact of the grievance is not impugned by such a consideration. The archbishop, after he had raised enormous sums for Richard, found that he was discontented; the people refused to believe that all the money raised reached the royal coffers; the system of the exchequer and the vested interests of the sheriffs were too strong to be broken down, and the method of taxation was becoming obsolete. The archbishop, weary with the odious work, teased to death by his monks, who had now appealed to Rome against him on account of the pollution of Bow church, where William Longbeard was seized, offered to resign the justiciarship. After urgent remonstrance from Richard he withdrew the offer. Hoveden tells us that during the two preceding years he had collected for the king not less than 1,100,000 marks of silver, a statement which must be erroneous,[4] but the

Hubert offers to resign.

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[1] See on this Madox, 506.

[2] For instance, Henry of Cornhell, the head of one of the two great parties of the citizens, was manager of the Mint in 1191, and Reginald of Cornhell after him, apparently during the whole reign of Richard. Madox, 631, 632, 666.

[3] See the sketch of his history given by Sir Francis Palgrave in the preface to the first volume of the *Rotuli Curiæ Regis*.

[4] Hoveden, iv. 13. I think the sum is incredible. At the same time it is clear from the extracts given by Madox from the Pipe Rolls that the sums of money passing backwards and forwards at the exchequer were much larger than they have been during the previous reigns. The sum of 1,100,000 marks is said to be computed as of silver of the realm of England: no deduction can be made from it, therefore, as being of foreign coin: it represents a sum of 733,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 366,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum; a sum curiously approximating to Ordericus' statement of William the Conqueror's daily income of

belief in which shows that the oppression by way of taxation must have been unprecedentedly heavy.

Assize of measures in 1197.

The Assize of Measures is the only fiscal act that marks the year 1197.[1] Its chief importance lies in the fact that the wording of Magna Carta, in the clauses that touch this question, is borrowed from it. It was found too severe for the commercial spirit of the country to bear, and was set aside by the justices early in the reign of John.[2]

Opposition of Hugh of Lincoln to Hubert's demands on the king's behalf.

We come thus to the year 1198, a year signalized by at least two highly important events. In the great council of the nation assembled at Oxford early in the year,[3] Hubert announced a demand of the king that the barons should furnish him with a force of 300 knights, to be paid three shillings a day each. Two of the bishops, S. Hugh of Lincoln, who represented at the time the religious party in England, and the old school of liberty for which S. Anselm and Thomas Becket had contended ; and Herbert of Salisbury,[4] who represented the older

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1,061*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.*, on which see Maseres, p. 258. According to the computation of the learned baron, the sum must be multiplied by three to find the present value in silver, and then by twenty to ascertain its value in exchange for produce. This would make the sum annually raised by Hubert equal to 22,000,000*l.* of our money, which is quite inconceivable. If the sum had been given in figures we might suspect that a cypher too many was inserted, and that we should read 110,000 marks, or 73,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, but this would be much less than would be probable. Altogether the passage defies explanation, except on the ground that mediæval statements of number, except in strictly legal documents, cannot be interpreted with any approach to exactness.

[1] Hoveden, iv. pp. 33, 34.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 172.

[3] Magna Vita S. Hugonis, pp. 248, 249. Hoveden, iv. 40.

[4] Herbert of Salisbury, called le Poor, was the son of Richard, archdeacon of Poictiers, that is, Richard of Ilchester, the clerk of the Exchequer to Henry II., and afterwards bishop of Winchester. This is, I think, proved by the documents printed in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, pp. 47, 52. It is curious that he should be known by the name of Poor, a name which certainly seems to imply some connexion with Roger le Poor of Salisbury and so with Nigel of Ely, Richard Fitz Neal and the chan-

Opposition in the National Council to a new impost.

traditions of the Exchequer; opposed the grant, and the archbishop was obliged in chagrin to withdraw his proposition, although it was supported by the bishop of London, the treasurer. Whatever were the grounds of the opposition of S. Hugh, ecclesiastical or constitutional, this occurrence is a landmark in English constitutional history. It may be placed on a par with S. Thomas's opposition to Henry II. in 1163 at Woodstock, but it is the first clear case of the refusal of a money grant demanded directly by the crown, and a most valuable precedent for future times.

The carucage of 1198.

The other mark of the year is the plan devised for the collection of a carucage.[1] This impost was probably intended to redress the balance between the tenants in knight service, who had lately paid two scutages, and the tenants in socage, who had not been taxed for four years; and this may account for the fact that it was fixed at five shillings on the carucate, more than double the rate collected in 1194. A still more important innovation was the determination that every hundred acres should be regarded as a carucate.[2] Formerly the word was strictly interpreted to mean the land that could be cultivated with a single plough, and of course, according to the character of the soil, the extent varied indefinitely. The substitution of a uniform for a variable carucate[3] was

Substitution of a uniform for a variable measurement.

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cellor, Roger le Poor. If this be so, then we have the family exercising a sort of hereditary judicial and fiscal influence for nearly a century and a half, Richard le Poor, bishop of Durham, dying in 1257.

[1] Hoveden, iv. 46, 47.

[2] According to the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, i. 17, the *hide* was a hundred acres, that is, it was regarded by the time of Henry II. as of that extent. This act of Hubert then identifies the carucate henceforth with the hide, as far as concerns extension. In the same spirit of definition the prices of cows, pigs, sheep, &c., the animalia pacabilia, are fixed, instead of being allowed to vary according to the size or condition of the animal. See the seventh clause of the XXIII[d]. article of the assize of 1194. Hoveden, iii. 265, 266.

[3] A parallel case to the variable carucate is the variable oxgang which subsisted in the last century: "Each field (of the common fields "of Pickering) consisted of 22

a great advantage to the Exchequer, and the allowance of a hundred acres to the plough was not an illiberal measure towards the cultivators.

Remeasurement contemplated.

But a consequence of greater importance resulted from the change; the land in cultivation must be remeasured. The old hidage measurement of Domesday must be given up with all its machinery of deductions and excuses; and for this purpose was to be employed the plan of assessment by jury, of which the Domesday record was the most valuable precedent, but which since Domesday[1] had been used only for the assessment of income and personal property. To collect this tax the king sent through each county of England a clerk and a knight, who, with the sheriff and lawful knights chosen for the purpose, sworn to fulfil the king's business faithfully, caused to come before them the stewards of the barons of the county, and from every township the lord or bailiff of the township, and the reeve with four men of the township, whether free or villein, and two lawful knights of the hundred, who swore that they would faithfully and without fraud declare how many wainages of ploughs there were in each township, how many in demesne, how many in villenage, how many in alms; and on the wainage of each plough they imposed first two shillings and afterwards three. The account was written in four rolls, kept by the clerk, the knight, the sheriff, and the stewards of the barons respectively. The money was received by two knights and the bailiff of each hundred; they accounted for it to the sheriff, and the sheriff accounted for it at the Exchequer.[2] The plan contains several other minute directions, but the above are enough to show that the principle of representation for the pur-

Method of assessing the carucage.

" oxgangs, each of which, on one " side of the township, contained " 24 acres, on the other, 12." Marshall's *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, i. 51.

[1] See the title of the Ely Domesday. Domesday, vol. iii., p. 497.

[2] Hoveden, iv. 46, 47.

Application of principles of representation and election.

pose of assessment was fully recognized as applicable to real property, whilst the mention of the chosen knights, who in each county were to superintend the proceeding, points to the speedy approach of a time when the ideas of representation and election were to be permanently united. The setting aside the great and venerable assessment book of William the Conqueror for a new valuation to be made by the representatives of the taxpayers was surely a long step towards the exercise by the taxpayers of a direct hold on the determination of taxation. When the elected knights who now superintended the valuation should be called to the royal councils, and there take part in the voting of the impost, the constitutional fabric would come not far off its rough completion. Within less than twenty years the principle which involved this result was to be admitted.

Importance of this act.

Unfortunately the records of the Exchequer do not enable us to say whether this elaborate plan was carried out in its integrity; but it remains a singular link between Domesday Book and Magna Carta, and a most important precedent. An examination of the documents contained in the *Fœdera* and *Parliamentary Writs*,[1] on

[1] I have put together the chief documents illustrative of this process in *Select Charters* (Oxford, 1870), pp. 274, 342, 345, 351, 355, 357, 491. In the first, in 1207, for the assessment of the thirteenth, the use of jury is not mentioned; in the second, the carucage of 1220, election in full county is used; in the third, the fifteenth of 1225, both election and jury are employed; in the fourth, the fortieth of 1232, the townships are represented by four *elected* men and the reeve in each case; in the fifth, the scutage of 1235, the arrangement is simply feudal, the collection is by the stewards of the barons; in the sixth, the thirtieth of 1237, the knights collectors are nominated, the local assessors, the reeve and four *elected* men. In the last case, the talliage of 1304, the collection is made simply by the king's officers. The comparison shows the maintenance of the royal authority in cases of strictly feudal taxation, such as scutage and talliage; and the employment of election and representation in both the collection and assessment of the non-feudal or national, such as carucage and the taxes by rate of tenth, thirteenth, &c.

the question of assessment and collection of taxes, carucages, thirteenths, fifteenths, and the like, shows how from time to time the main principle was varied, until, a hundred years exactly from this date, the right of the commons to representation, and the right of the parliament to regulate taxation, being admitted, the details of the arrangement by which men's minds were prepared and educated for the work, sank into secondary importance.

Importance of the modes of assessment.

If we suppose that the difficulties of the task thus undertaken were greater than Hubert Walter was able to meet, we may be not very far wrong. The day fixed for the return of the new valuation was the 31st of May; before the 14th of July he had resigned, and his successor was appointed. The first act of the new administration was to order a new iter of the judges, and this was accompanied by a new and more stringent publication of the forest assize. The impost of the carucage was resisted by a portion of the monastic clergy, and a measure of practical outlawry against the whole clerical body was needed to enforce the payment. This severe act was the first sign of the change in the spirit of the government.[1] Another was the augmentation of the scutage and carucage at the beginning of the reign of John,[2] followed by the speedy and heavy increase of taxation which in 1207 culminated in the demand of a thirteenth, and caused the exile of archbishop Geoffrey; by the substitution, for the system of jury assessment, of the direct valuation of the justices; and by the great expansion of the system of fines, which drove the barons into rebellion. Some of these measures Hubert might have connived at, but we can scarcely suppose that he would have taken

Resignatio of Hubert Walter.

Stringent action of the new administration.

Character of the policy of John.

[1] Hoveden, iv. 63.

[2] The scutage was raised to two marks on the knight's fee in 1199, Madox, p. 444; and the carucage from two to three shillings on the carucate in 1200. Hoveden, iv. 107. R. Coggeshale, c. 860.

Hubert's resignation of the justiciarship.

the chief part in originating them. He had probably held the supreme financial authority as long as he could conscientiously exercise it. He resigned it by express command of Innocent III.

II. Judicial measures.

The minutiæ of the judicial measures of Hubert's administration are not less important than those of the fiscal; but they are simpler and more distinctly indicative of progress. The first act to be noted is the direction for the judicial iter of 1194, which has been several times referred to already.[1] The first clause of this document directs the process of electing the grand jury of each county. Four knights are to be chosen from the whole county, who by their oath are to choose two lawful knights of each hundred or wapentake, and those two are to choose ten knights of each hundred and wapentake; or, if there be a lack of knights, ten lawful and free men; so that those twelve may together answer on all heads, for their whole hundred or wapentake. It is necessary for the understanding of this direction to recur to two points in the legislation of Henry II.; the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton,[2] and the institution of the Great Assize.[3] The two former measures constitute what may be called by anticipation the grand jury, the inquest by twelve lawful knights of each hundred, and four men and the reeve from each township, into cases of reputed criminals in the hundred, with a view to the presentment of the guilty to the itinerant justices. Such is the character of the body instituted in 1194, but its functions are extended to all the business of the judicial visitation. How this representative body was under the assizes of 1166 and 1176 constituted we are not told; but it is most probable that the lawful knights

Election of grand jury.

Extension of its powers.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 262.

[2] Hoveden, ii. 248, for the assize of Clarendon; ii. 89, for that of Northampton.

[3] Glanvill, *de legibus Angliæ*, lib. ii. c. 7.

Introduction of the elective principle into shire offices.

were simply nominated by the sheriff in the same way as the recognitors for the assizes of mort d'ancestor and darrein presentment;[1] it is, however, just possible that they were elected[2] in the local assemblies, in which case the reform now adopted must be referred to earlier practice. But it is in the ordinance of the Great Assize that the closer parallel to the direction of 1194 is to be found. According to that institution the twelve recognitors are to be nominated by four summoned knights of the shire in which the disputed property lies.[3] In that case the selection is removed by one step from an arbitrary selection by the sheriff and placed in the hands of a body of four. In the direction of 1194 then, first, the practice of electing through four representatives is extended from the Great Assize to the grand jury; secondly, by the interposition of a second act of selection, the four knights are to choose two who are to co-opt ten; that is, the selection is placed two steps instead of one only from a simple nomination. A further point, which is of importance, is the recognition of four knights as a sort of representative quorum of the county court for these purposes.

Election or nomination?

The use of the word election for the process by which these four knights were singled out leads to a further question. Are we to understand that they were chosen in the court of the wapentake and county, or that they were mere nominees of the sheriff? I have already said that the probability is that in the selection of lawful men to act as recognitors in assizes of mort d'ancestor and darrein presentment, although the word *eligendi* is used, we are to understand that the choice was made by the sheriff

[1] Glanvill, xiii. 3. "Summone, "per bonos summonitores, duo-"decim liberos et legales homines "de visineto." They were probably nominated by the reeve from a list, or at his or their convenience, as jurors for an inquest are at the present day.

[2] The word *eligendi* is used. Glanvill, xiii. 3.

[3] Glanvill, ii. 7.

How the recognitors of the assizes were appointed.

only. Those recognitors were required only for the particular case for which they were summoned, and there seems to be no reason to suppose that the shiremoot or hundredmoot was called together on purpose to elect them. The sheriff had a list of the knights, and ways of ascertaining the names of the lawful men of the district, and summoned out of them those most likely to be well informed as to the matter in hand. And the same course was probably, if not certainly, adopted in the selection of the four knights who nominated the recognitors of a great assize. We may conclude that the great balance of probability is in favour of the practice of simple nomination as in use under Henry II.

Election of knights to take the assizes, prescribed in 1215.

If, however, we look on to Magna Carta, we shall find that the principle of election in and by the county court was in 1215 the rule in all cases of the sort. By the 18th clause, recognitions of novel disseisin, mort d'ancestor, and darrein presentment, are to be taken in the county courts only, on a particular day, and in a special place, four times a year; that is, instead of having a special nomination of recognitors at the discretion of the sheriff for each case, all such business is to be concentrated in quarterly courts of the whole shire. But further, these assizes are to be taken by the king's itinerant justices, with the assistance of *four knights of each county chosen by the county court.* Here, then, the principle of election is clearly stated, and the concentration of the assizes at the county court of course made that plan of election as certainly feasible as the earlier practice of holding them at the discretion of the sheriff, or of the curia regis, made it difficult. A similar rule is laid down in clause 48 of Magna Carta for the inquiry into forest grievances by twelve sworn knights of each county, to be chosen *per probos homines ejusdem comitatus.*

This being so, at what period between 1176 and 1215 are we to look for the transition from the principle of nomination to that of election? We naturally should

fix it at the point of time at which the special assizes for which the knights representative were required were concentrated in the county court; and that appears definitely to be the assize of 1194 now before us; the second chapter of which specifies among the capitula for which the grand jury is to answer, all recognitions and all pleas which have been summoned before the justices by the writ of the king or chief justice, or sent before them from the chief court of the king; whilst the 18th article includes the cases of great assize also, where the land in dispute is below a certain value. Not only is there no extant assize earlier than this, in which the principle is laid down, but there is the strongest possible ground for believing that no such document was issued between 1176 and 1194. I think then we may with great probability conclude that when the word *eligendi* is used for the appointment of the four knights of the shire, for the purpose of nominating the grand juries of the hundreds, it means that they were elected by the county court, as the 18th clause of Magna Carta describes, and as the later parliamentary representatives were chosen.

Point of transition from nomination to election.

This point may be fixed to the year 1194.

A further argument in the same direction may be drawn from the 20th article of the assize of 1194; which directs that in every county shall be chosen three knights and a clerk, guardians of the pleas of the Crown. This direction is the origin of the institution of coroners, who have always been and still are elected by the whole body of the freeholders.

Institution of coroners.

The creation of this new office, an elective office, and one which relieved the sheriff from a considerable portion of his work, indicates a disposition on the part of the justiciar to limit the sheriff's direct exercise of judicial functions, which is in strict accordance with the proposed examination into his fiscal exactions, to which reference has been already made more than once, and which was intended to be carried out this very year. It would

Institution of the coronership, a step in the progress of the elective principle.

Functions of the sheriffs limited as the elective principle gains ground

appear that the tendency of the local magnates to use the sheriff's office for their own purposes was too strong to be overcome by the mere personal and official changes carried out by Henry II; and that it was necessary to introduce an organic modification of the functions of this ancient magistrate. The time was not come at which the county court could be trusted to elect the sheriff;[1] the only alternative was to limit his functions. It will be seen on a general survey of the whole history of local administration, that as the elective principle gained ground the powers of the sheriffs were limited. The present assize not merely throws a large part of their duties on the elective coroners, but forbids that the sheriff shall be justiciar in his own sheriffwick, or any county in which he has been sheriff since the coronation of Richard. Magna Carta forbids that any sheriff, constable, coroners, or other royal bailiffs, shall hold pleas of the Crown.

Oath of the peace, in 1195.

The oath for the conservation of the peace ordered by Hubert in 1195 to be taken by all men throughout the kingdom[2] is a valuable illustration of the permanence and adaptability of one of the very ancient legal customs of the country. The laws of Canute direct that every man above twelve years shall make oath that he will neither be a thief nor cognizant of one;[3] the assize of Clarendon was based upon the obligation of this oath, although it devolved the execution of it upon a select body of knights and lawful men. It is now revived in the earlier form: they shall swear that they will keep the peace of our lord the king to the best of their ability; that they will not be thieves, or robbers, or receivers of them, nor in any matter consent to them; that when they learn the existence of such criminals, they will do

Revival of an earlier custom.

[1] Art. Super Cartas, cc. viii. and ix. Statutes of the Realm, i. 139, 140.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 299.

[3] Secular Dooms, cap. 21.

their best to take them and deliver them to the sheriff; that when hue and cry is raised they will follow, and will deliver to the sheriff those who refuse or avoid the duty. This oath is to be taken by all over the age of fifteen before knights assigned for the purpose. These knights assigned appear to be the lineal predecessors of the more modern justices of the peace. The legislation of the reign of Henry III. incorporated the system of the assize of arms with that of watch and ward and hue and cry, and the whole of the measures existing for the conservation of the peace were codified in Edward I.'s statute of Winchester. The assigned knights of whom we read here for the first time become under Edward III. able to try felonies, and are called justices of the peace. There does not seem to be any ground for the assertion that these were at any period elective functionaries.

Knights *assigned* for the conservation of the peace.

These are then the judicial measures of Hubert Walter's justiciarship. The directions for the iter of 1198, issued soon after his resignation, contain no important change, unless the order that the elections for the great assize shall be taken before the itinerant justices may be regarded as a repromulgation or extension of the application of the elective principle to that process, which is unnecessary. The forest assize, reissued at the same time, varies but little from the assize of Woodstock of 1184.

Iter of 1198.

The principles which may be regarded as definitely worked out for the first time in the archbishop's general administration are, the application of direct taxation to personal estate and revenue; the employment of assessment by jury to determine the obligation of the cultivated lands to carucage; the introduction of the representative principle into the county administration on a scale hitherto unprecedented; and the application of the elective process to the selection of judicial representatives. That the last was not a mere accident or coincidence may be shown, I think, from the fact that the first

Summary of the constitutional measures of Hubert's administration.

Town charters.

extant charter of a town which contains the provision for the election of its ruling magistrate is that of Lincoln, of 1194.[1] This privilege, which had been at an earlier period purchaseable by fine for the particular occasion, is now made perpetual, and a precedent for a large class of similar charters in the early years of the next reign, during which the archbishop's influence with the king was the strongest. But this opens up a subject far too complex and extensive to be touched here.

Illustrations of foreign history.

III. The light shed by Hoveden, following the direction taken by his predecessor, on questions of foreign history, was the subject of several pages of the preface to the second volume of this edition.[2] The general statements made there I shall not repeat, but content myself with pointing out the passages which specially illustrate the value of the work in this regard.

History of the imperial family in Italy and Sicily.

1. The places which touch upon the history of the emperor Henry VI. are numerous, and though not of first-rate importance, decidedly valuable in the comparative barrenness of the continental authorities of the period. The chief of these are, the account of the coronation by Celestine III.[3] and of the consequent destruction of Tusculum,[4] derived probably from the canons of York who were then at Rome, or from the members of Eleanor's retinue who had visited the city at that time; the particulars of the internal dissensions of the German princes, which are brought out in the history of the negotiations of Richard for his release;[5] the hostile attitude of the emperor towards France, which partly resulted from Richard's release, and was partly the purposed effect of his diplomacy;[6] the cruelties and outrages committed by Henry in the Sicilian kingdom in 1194;[7] the German crusade of 1197;[8] the reverses of the imperial

[1] Fœdera, i. 52.
[2] Vol. ii. pp. lxxii.–xcix.
[3] Vol. iii. p. 101.
[4] Vol. iii. pp. 102–105.
[5] Vol. iii. pp. 214, 232, 234.
[6] Vol. iii. pp. 300, 302, 303.
[7] Vol. iii. 268–270.
[8] Vol. iv. pp. 25–27, 28, 29.

arms in Sicily the same year ;[1] and the illness and death of Henry himself, followed by the collapse for the moment of all his dynastic plans in both Germany and Italy.[2]

History of the election of Otho IV.

2. The history of the empire, as distinct from the personal history of Henry VI., is illustrated by the account of the election of the emperor Otho IV.,[3] and his subsequent struggle with Philip of Swabia, as well as by the precedent notices of the adventures of the children of Henry the Lion. As William of Winchester, the younger brother of Otho, was brought up in England, and resided at the court of Richard during a part at least of the later years [4] of our chronicler ; as the intercourse moreover between Otho and Richard, although not between Otho and John, was continuous and friendly, it is easy to account for the special value of these particulars in the prevailing barrenness of the foreign writers of the time. The details of Otho's election, although not above legal and antiquarian criticism, are of great authority. Of the commissioners who attended on Richard's behalf, the bishop of Durham, Philip of Poictiers, was, in all probability, in constant intercourse with Roger of Hoveden, living at Howden, and having been as a royal clerk or chaplain acquainted with him in earlier years ; another, William de Chimili, was archdeacon of Richmond ; another, the count of Aumâle, was the great potentate of the East Riding. From one of these, or from some person in the retinue of one of them, our author must have received his information ; it is even possible that he himself attended the bishop of Durham on the occasion.[5]

History of the papacy.

3. Hoveden's contributions to the history of the papacy are not so large as might be expected from the continuous communication existing during his period

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 27, 30.
[2] Vol. iv. pp. 30, 31, 32.
[3] Vol. iv. pp. 37–39, 95, 122.
[4] Vol. iv. pp. 79, 116.
[5] Vol. iv. p. 37.

Illustration of the history of Rome.

between York and Rome ; the most important, perhaps, are the accounts of the attempt made by Celestine III. to influence the choice of his successor,[1] and of the early reforms of Innocent III.[2] He has, however, preserved one detail of considerable importance touching the municipal condition of the city of Rome, the history of the change in the senatorship in 1194, with the short review of the previous condition of that magistracy.[3]

History of France.

4. French history is so closely connected with English during the whole reign of Richard and the portion of John's reign which is embraced by the chronicle, that it is unnecessary to point out any special passages that throw light upon it. The measures taken by Philip to obtain a divorce,[4] his dealings with the Jews,[5] and his conduct of the quarrel between the university and citizens of Paris,[6] are the best instances of our author's contribution to the separate history of France.

History of Scotland.

5. The same may be said of Scotland. Of incidents of purely Scottish history, the transactions of William the Lion with Harold MacMadit,[7] and his negotiations for the marriage of his daughter with Otho of Saxony,[8] are specially noticeable. Hoveden's exact details on the subject of the homage at Lincoln in 1200 and the negotiations that led to it, are very valuable.[9] So is also his story about William's intention of invading England at the beginning of John's reign, an intention which he gave up in consequence of a dream or vision which he had when spending the night at Dunfermline, the burial place of his greatgrandmother, S. Margaret.[10] The statement of our author [11] that in the year 1197 the king of Scots introduced into his dominions the oath for conser-

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[1] Vol. iv. pp. 32, 33.
[2] Vol. iv. pp. 41, 44, 45.
[3] Vol. iii. p. 270.
[4] Vol. iii. pp. 224, 306, 307 ; vol. iv. p. 112.
[5] Vol. iv. pp. 118, 119.
[6] Vol. iv. pp. 120, 121.
[7] Vol. iv. pp. 10–12.
[8] Vol. iii. pp. 298, 299, 308.
[9] Vol. iv. pp. 88, 91.
[10] Vol. iv. p. 100.
[11] Vol. iv. p. 33.

vation of the peace which had been prescribed in England in 1195, may seem startling to those antiquaries who insist that the English reforms in law and police had been anticipated by king David, and were in fact borrowed from him by Henry II.; but there can be no doubt that it is a statement that throws light on a very obscure subject, and affords a glimpse of the process of imitation by which Scotland was assimilating herself to England in matters of the sort; a process which continued until the wars of Edward I. threw her upon the French alliance, and caused her to adopt the French in preference to the English constitutional principles of law and government. Imitation of English institutions by the Scots.

6. The few obscure notices given by Hoveden, of the affairs of Norway under Swerre Birkbain,[1] are important chiefly as showing a certain amount of national intercourse, and of the interest that still existed in England as to the history of the northern kingdoms. Scandinavian history.

These instances will be, I think, sufficient to show both the value of our Chronicle, the painstaking exactness of its author, the soundness of his means of information, and the amount of intelligence as to foreign affairs which prevailed around him. The notices of Spanish and Oriental history are of less importance, and have, although recorded within a very few years of the time at which the events occurred, acquired from distance a tinge of the legendary character which diminishes their value. Other historical illustrations.

The relations of the several Manuscripts used in the preparation of this edition, are not for the last portion of the work very different from what they were in the third division of it. Relations of the MSS.

MS. A. (Laud 582) continues to bear out its character of the original and most perfect draught. From it the whole of the present text is taken. The only apparent MS. A.

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[1] Vol. iii. pp. 270, 272 ; vol. iv. p. 25.

MS. A. exception is the insertion of the letter of Celestine III. to the judges delegate in the cause of the monks of Coventry:[1] this letter is not found in MS. A.; it appears first in the margin of B., and from B. has been copied into the text of D. and I. Another insertion printed by Savile from the Laud MS., the history of the philosopher Secundus, although certainly not Hoveden's, but added long after his time, on a spare leaf, from the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, I have thought it best to retain in a note;[2] and with it a curious and garbled extract from John of Salisbury, which Savile omitted, although it is written in the same hand. Every consideration that I have been able to apply to this precious MS., has conduced to strengthen my conviction that in it we have the most authentic representation of our author's work, and in all probability the original MS. of it from the year 1181 onwards.

Insertions by later scribes.

MS. B. characterized by omissions.

MS. B., the Arundel MS. 69, retains also to the end the character of a fine and close reproduction of the text of A., with the same important exception, an increasing tendency to omit letters and documents, more especially those connected with Archbishop Geoffrey's history. In some few cases moreover the writer of MS. B. has supplied the blanks left in MS. A. for proper names; but with the exception of the Coventry letter he has added nothing.

MS. C. fragmentary.

MS. C., Arundel 150, towards the end of the work becomes more faithful to the exemplar represented by MSS. A. and B.; but its arrangement is so fragmentary and disjointed that it is useless for the purpose of collation.

MS. D. copy of B.

MS. D., Cotton Claudius B. 7, bears to B. the same relation that B. bears to A., that is, it is generally a faithful copy, but towards the end of the work the omissions and abridgments are more frequent, and the

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[1] Vol. iv. pp. 35–37.

[2] Vol. iv. pp. 153–155.

hiatuses more glaring. MS. D. omits many of the northern details that are retained by MS. B., and adds nothing. The two long paragraphs from this MS. which I have given in the note on pages 190, 191, are curious only as not being, so far as I am aware, referable to any known chronicle from which they could have been extracted. They are found in MS. D. in the same hand as the rest of the text; and in MS. C. are added in a modern one. They could hardly be Hoveden's on any theory.

MS. D. omits northern transactions.

MS. G., Harl. 3602, does not, as the work approaches its close, maintain the character of a faithful and intelligent reproduction of MS. A. It is sufficiently near it to show that the writer was not indebted to any other example; but the abridgments and omissions become more frequent and more arbitrary, so that for several important documents, copies of which might be looked for here, we have no other text but the Laud MS. It is unnecessary to particularize these, as they have been all pointed out in the notes.

MS. G. less valuable towards its close.

The index of geographical forms which follows the text and precedes the general index, has been drawn up as carefully as I could do it without giving special dissertations on each questionable word; and has been added as almost indispensable for the ordinary reader. In the identification of the names I ought to acknowledge my obligations especially to Mr. Hodgson Hinde's index to Symeon of Durham, to Mr. C. H. Pearson's valuable series of maps illustrative of English History, and to Mr. King, the editor of Murray's Handbooks of Yorkshire and other counties. It should be understood that this index does not profess to be an exhaustive enumeration of the places in which the particular forms are found.

Index of geographical forms.

In the preparation of the General Index I have attempted, not, I fear, very successfully, to carry out the plan of Mr. Luard in his Index to the Annales Monastici.

General Index.

The work was one of considerable labour, but it will probably never have to be done over again.

To the Rev. C. W. Boase, M.A., of Exeter College, I may be allowed here to express my gratitude for the interest which he has shown and the advice he has given me, in the process of the work.

I have appended a long list of errata and corrections. I fear they are many more than the most indulgent critic would admit to be venial. As, however, the object of a good edition is not to prove the editor infallible, but simply to present his author in the best and purest form, I hope that the reader will allow the acknowledgment and careful correction of the errors to counterbalance the original fault.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Vol. I.

Page xviii, line 26, "final concord." On the true date of this document, see some remarks in correction of the text, in the preface to vol. iv. p. xxvii, above.

" xxxiv, note 1, an additional reference may be given, to Walter de Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Wright, pp. 228, 229.

" lxiv, line 1, "final concord," see preface to vol. iv. p. xxvii.

" lxxii, line 2. This is a mistake; the latter part of Hoveden's Annals was known to Wendover and Paris; see vol. iii. pref., p. xvi.

" lxxii, line 17, "Ailred of Rievaulx." This is wrong; the earlier portion of Walter of Coventry's Memoriale is drawn from Florence of Worcester. It is only in the MS. of Benedict, Cotton, Julius A. xi., that Ailred's work is found in connexion, and that casual only, with the *Gesta Regis Henrici;* see the preface to Benedict, vol. i. p. xxii.

" lxxii, note 2, *for* "Harl. 685" *read* "Harl. 689."

" lxxiv, note 1, cross out at the end "xviii. 164–187." These pages contain the continuation of Hoveden's Chronicle, ascribed to Walter of Coventry.

" lxxxi. This description of the MS. Arundel 69 is supplemented, so far as regards the later portions of the Chronicle, in the preface to vol. ii. pp. xi–xiii; preface to vol. iii. p. xvi; and preface to vol. iv. p. cvi.

" lxxxii. This description of the MS. Arundel 150, is supplemented, so far as regards the later portions of the Chronicle, in the preface to vol. ii. p. xiv, and preface to vol. iii. p. xvi: and that of MS. Claudius B. vii; at vol. ii. pref., p. xiv, vol. iii. p. xvi, vol. iv. pref. p. cvi.

" lxxxiii. On the MS. Harl. 3602; see further, vol. ii. p. xv; vol. iii. p. xvi; vol. iv. p. cvii.

" lxxxiv. On the Trinity College MS., see further, vol. ii. pp. xiv, xv.

" xcviii, line 22, *for* "MS. a" *read* "MS. 'a.'"

" ci, note 1, *for* "Bermonsey" *read* "Bermondsey."

" 8, line 18. Some attempt should have been made in a note to identify Streburg and Homunic, the other names speak for themselves. Homunic should undoubtedly be read with Simeon of

Page Durham Homwic. It is Southampton. This is made clear by the words of S. Willibald's biographer, "ad loca venerunt des-" tinata quæ prisco dicebantur Hamelea-Mutha, juxta illud mer-" cimonium quod dicitur Hambich." Mab. AA. SS. O. S. B. Soc. III., p. ii., p. 335. Mabillon settles the question in a note. Hamelea is the river Hamble, and Homwic or Hombich is Southampton. It is also no doubt the Homwig of Nithard, iv. 3, which Pertz wrongly identifies with Hamburg.

Streburg is more obscure. It might be Strasburg, although it is more likely to be some town in England. Stourbridge, Sturminster, Stradbroke (?).

" 12, line 33, *for* "Efwine" *read* "Elfwine."

" 43, note 4, *for* "Hovoden" *read* "Hoveden."

" 46, line 15, insert a full stop *after* "spatio."

" 47, line 4, *read* "fuisse."

" 51, marginal abstract, *for* "Tottenhall" *read* "Tettenhall."

" 53, line 34, *read* "patri."

" 56, line 29, *for* "Taddenesclyf," *read* "Taddenescylf;" the place is Tanshelf near Pomfret. (Raine, note on Sim. Dun.)

" 64, marginal abstract, line 1, *for* "978" *read* "973."

" 94, last line, *read* "sua."

" 107, marginal abstract, line 19, *for* "Portskewrth" *read* "Port-" skeweth."

" 111, line 19, *for* "uon" *read* "non."

" 112, marginal abstract, line 21, *for* "Stanford" *read* "Stamford."

" 124, notes, line 8, *for* "utilitate" *read* "utilitati."

" 136, line 9, *for* "reference [2]" *read* "[1]."

" 136, marginal abstract, erase lines 19 to 21. The mention of the bishop of Durham does not occur in the text but in note [2].

" 155, line 31, *after* "sequenti" insert reference to note [4].

" 157, marginal abstract, last line, *for* "May 11" *read* "November 11."

" 182, notes, line 4, *for* "163" *read* "page 163."

" 191, note [1], line 3, *for* "Gestæ" *read* "Gesta."

" 192, line 4, *after* "supremus" insert reference to note [1].

" 196, note [5], erase *sed.*

" 201, note [1], *for* "earl of Holderness" *read* "lord of Holderness."

" 213, marginal abstract, line 3, *for* "Eugenius II." *read* "Eugenius III."

" 231, note 1, line 2, *read* "appears."

" 255, margin, line 1, *for* "A.D. 1165" *read* "A.D. 1167."

" 256, note [3], line 3, *insert* "MSS."

" 259, marginal abstract, lines 12–14, *read* "make him desert the" cause of the church."

" 273, margin, line 7, *read* "of their mother church."

" 282, line 10, *for* "de molitus" *read* "demolitus."

Vol. II.

Page xviii, line 3, *for* " Gaucelin " *read* " Gocelin."
„ xxx, line 21, for " conquerer " *read* " conqueror."
„ l, line 2, *for* " Riddel " *read* " Ridel."
„ liii, note [1], last line, *for* " 1199 " *read* " 1201."
„ lxvii, note [1], last line, *for* " 261 " *read* " 268."
„ lxxii, line 28, *for* " develop " *read* " watch."
„ lxxxiii, lines 8 and 28, *for* " Louis " *read* " Lewis."
„ lxxxviii, note 3, *for* " Silvester, IV. " *read* " Silvester IV."
„ 14, line 21, the broken word is *satellites.*
„ 22, line 18, *for* " quibis " *read* " quibus."
„ 40, line 26, erase the reference [3].
„ 45, note 2, line 4, *for* " Labbé " *read* " Labbe."
„ 52, note [1], *for* " Lones " *read* " Leones."
„ 57, line 6, *for* " upud " *read* " apud."
„ 59, line 2, erase the marks of quotation on each side of *frater.*
„ 60, note 1, *for* " St. Liz. " *read* " St. Liz ".
„ note [1]. Since this was printed I have found a copy of the document printed in the Monasticon, in consequence of which this note should be expunged. See on the question some remarks in the preface to vol. iv. p. xxvii.
„ 82, line 28, *after* " suo " *insert* reference to note 2.
„ 94, note 1, line 7, erase the word *own.*
„ 98, note 3, insert the note mark [3].
„ 105, line 1, erase the comma after *filius.*
„ 123, line 7, *for* " Castella " *read* " castella."
„ 125, line 22, *after* " Amen " *insert* reference to note [3].
„ 127, inner margin, line 4, *for* " i. 194 " *read* " i. 149."
„ 133, inner margin, last line, *for* " 162 " *read* " i. 162."
„ 143, note 1, line 3, *after* " writer " substitute a full stop for the comma.
„ 144, note 7, expunge the note with its reference in the text; it was the *son* of this Peter who became count of Nevers.
„ 184, insert [1] before the first note.
„ 190, note 2, line 7, *for* " MS. " *read* " MS. C."
„ 194, note 2, line 2, *for* " earl " *read* " lord."
„ 194, note 2, line 11, *for* " in Holderness " *read* " on the Humber, in " Lincolnshire."
„ 197, inner margin, last line, *for* " 250 " *read* " i. 250."
„ 218, note 3. The statements of this note should be corrected by the explanations given in the preface to vol. ii. pp. xlvi, xlvii.
„ 228, marginal abstract, line 5, *read* " Tenementale."
„ 230, marginal abstract, line 3, *for* " it " *read* " is."
„ 253, note 1, line 4, *for* " Harlean " *read* " Harleian."
„ 259, inner margin, line 4, *for* " 276 " *read* " i. 276."
„ 261, line 26, *for* " habeat," *read* " habeat."

Page 291, line 10, *for* "inunum" *read* "in unum."

„ 297, note 1, line 2, erase the full stop *after* "Mansour."

„ 334, line 33, the broken word is *regi.*

„ 339, note 3, line 1, erase the comma.

„ 353, note 4, line 3, *for* "son" *read* "grandson." The bishop was son of earl Robert II., and brother of Robert III.

„ 365, note 1, *for* "Rigord" in this note *read* "William of Armorica;" and see preface to vol. ii. p. lxvii, note 2.

Vol. III.

„ xii, line 32, *for* "7" *read* "6."

„ xx. The mark prefixed to the third note should be [3] not [2] as it now stands; and the mark to the fourth note should be [4] not [1] as at present. Erase the mark [4] of reference in line 14 of the text and substitute [4] for [5] in the last line of the text.

„ xxi, line 6. I have omitted to notice another short visit paid by Richard to his father in England in 1179, of which there are notices in Benedict I. 213, and in R. de Diceto, c. 604. He crossed to England soon after Whitsuntide in that year. The length of the visit is not stated.

„ xxiii. It is not quite clear that the Stephen de Turonis of Benedict and Hoveden is identical with either the Stephen de Marzai of Richard of Devizes, or Stephen of Turnham. In the note to p. 3 I have suggested that they were the same person, but there are considerable difficulties in the identification, and on the whole it is safer not to do so without new evidence.

„ xxxiv, note 3, line 6, *for* "historians" *read* "historian."

„ xxxvi, note 4, line 5, insert a comma after the word *matters.*

„ xli, fourth note, *for* "[6]" *read* "[4]."

„ lxix, line 9, *for* "canons" *read* "monks."

„ lxix, note [3], line 12, *for* "Austin canons" *read* "monks of S. Mar-" tin's." St. Martin's Dover was a Benedictine house. It had been filled with Austin canons by Archbishop William of Corbeuil, but on his death in 1136 they were expelled and a colony of monks from Christchurch, Canterbury, substituted for them. See Gervase, c. 1342.

„ lxxxviii, note 1, line 1, *for* "172" *read* "179."

„ xci, note 3, line 3, *for* "forma" *read* "firma."

„ cxiii, line 207, the [3] belongs to the next line *fervente.*

„ cxv, line 263, the [2] belongs to the next line *ferus.*

„ cxx, line 409, *for* "succensum" *read* "succensam."

„ 18, before the fourth note insert [4].

„ 54, line 3 from the bottom, *erase* "in."

„ 57, note 1, omit the dates 1183–1190; the duration of the archbishop's pontificate is uncertain, but he was certainly alive in 1191. See vol. iii. p. 87.

Page 62, line 32, *for* " e " *read* " et."
„ 83, line 4, *for* " regni " *read* " regna."
„ 95, note 2, *for* " Sancho V. " *read* " Sancho VI."
„ 122, note 3, line 3, *for* " Marcellus " *read* " S. Marcellus."
„ 129, margin, line 12, *read* " James of Avesnes."
„ 153, line 14, *for* " domin " *read* " domino."
„ 168, note 2, line 7, *for* " 580 " *read* " 1580."
„ 173, line 17, *for* " ecclesiæ " *read* " ecclesia."
„ 180, note [2], *for* " Pentecostes," *read* " Pentecosten."
„ 181, margin, line 9. April 28th, the 4th of the kalends of May, was the day of Conrad's death, not April 27th as given in the text; see R. Diceto, 667.
„ 181, line 15, insert a full stop *after* " excoriatus est."
„ 192, note 1, line 11, *for* " from " *read* " to."
„ 205, note 1, line 5, *for* " ignobles " *read* " ignobiles."
„ 224, note 5. The attempt in this note to trace the affinity between Philip's first and second wife is based on a mistake. S. Canute, duke of Sleswick, and king of the Obotrites, the father of Waldemar and grandfather of Ingeburga, was a different person from S. Canute, king of the Danes, father of Count Charles of Flanders. Robert Friso, count of Flanders, was father-in-law of S. Canute of Denmark who died in 1086. It is probable that Philip's counsellors had made the same mistake, for no other colourable account is given of the connexion between the houses of Denmark and Hainault. There is in J. P. de Ludwig's *Reliquiæ*, vol. ix. pp. 591–650, a long pedigree of Ingeburga. S. Canute of Denmark was great uncle to S. Canute of the Obotrites, but it was through his wife, a Flemish princess, that he was connected with the count of Hainault, and that connexion was extinguished by the death of Count Charles. The following is a sketch of the pedigree :—

Sweyn II., king of Denmark.

S. Canute of Denmark, died 1086. = Adela, daughter of Robert Friso, count of Flanders.
  Charles, count of Flanders.

Eric I., king of Denmark, died 1103. =
  S. Canute, king of the Obotrites. =
    Waldemar I., king of Denmark. =
      Canute VI.
      Ingeburga, wife of Philip II.

Page 227, line 28, *for* " Apostoli," *read* " Apostoli."
„ 231, margin, line 5, *after* " June 1 " *insert* " 1195." Hoveden has here run into the year following that on which he is properly engaged ; see remarks on this in the preface to vol. iv., p. xxix.
„ 237, line 1, *for* " Johannis " *read* " Johannes."
„ 241, line 21, *for* " facta " *read* " factus."
„ 245, note 2, line 3, *for* " orginal " *read* " original."
„ 248, note 2, *for* " William de Fortibus " *read* " William of Redvers."
„ 254, note 3. Hoveden (vol. iv. 60) states that Miles, count of Bar, was drowned in the Epte at Gisors in 1198 ; but the date as given here is upheld by the authors of the Art de Vérifier les dates ; and William of Armorica in the *Philippis* states that Philip lost none of his nobles on that occasion. (ed.Pithou, p. 289.)
„ 266, line 23, erase the comma *after* " ecclesia."
„ 279, line 4, *for* " archidiaconis " *read* " archidiacono."
„ 285, line 11, *for* " predictæ " *read* " prædictæ."
„ 287, line 24, *for* " archiepiscopato " *read* " archiepiscopatu."
„ 301, note 2, line 2, *for* " Rigood " *read* " Rigord."
„ 302, transpose notes [1] and [2].
„ 302, note 4. The word given here *Charroux* should probably be *Châteauroux*, see vol. iv. p. 149.
„ 307, note 2, line 3, *for* " 1198 " *read* " 1197 ;" and see vol. iv. p. 25.

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„ 13, margin, line 16, *for* " Contances " *read* " Coutances."
„ 21, note [5], line 3, *for* " 1206 " *read* " 1197."
„ 42, prefix [1] to the first note.
„ 45, margin, line 16, *for* " die " *read* " dies."
„ 46, margin, line 8, *for* " carncage " *read* " carucage."
„ 49, note 1, line 3, *for* " Baluzes " *read* " Baluze's."
„ 53, note [4], line 3, *for* " Gameges " *read* " Gisors."
„ 59, note [5], *read* " om. I."
„ 117, margin, line 20, *for* " Feb. 6," *read* " Jan. 21." This agreement is inserted by Hoveden wrongly under the year 1200 ; it belongs to the next year ; see note [6], p. 118 ; and above, preface, p. xxix. Septuagesima Sunday in 1200 was Feb. 6, in 1201 it was Jan. 21.
„ 149, note [2]. It is most probable that the place in question was Châteauroux, and that the agreement in question was made at a meeting held between that place and Yssoudun, in pursuance of the arrangement made by the treaty of 1194 ; see vol. iii. p. 259.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

PARS POSTERIOR.

Colloquium inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ.

Eodem anno,[1] post festum Sancti Hilarii, Philippus rex Franciæ et Ricardus rex Angliæ convenerunt apud Lovers ad colloquium; ubi inter eos consilio hominum suorum ita convenit, quod rex Franciæ quieta clamavit regi Angliæ et hæredibus suis, ab ipso et hæredibus suis, Yssoudun[2] cum pertinentiis suis, et totum jus quod habuit in Berria, et Alvernia, et Gasconia; et reddit ei quieta castellum de Archis, et comitatum de Auco, et comitatum de Albemarlia, et cætera castella multa, quæ occupaverat per guerram. Et hæc contra rex Angliæ quieta clamavit regi Franciæ castellum de Gysorcio,[3] et totum Wogesin Normannicum: et ut hæc omnia[4] rata haberentur, statuerunt inter se pœnam xv. millia marcarum argenti, ita quod ille, qui hanc pacem frangeret, daret alteri xv. millia marcarum argenti, et super hoc invenerunt sibi ad invicem fidejussores.

A.D. 1196. January. Conference between Richard and Philip at Louviers.

Terms of the peace made there.

Præterea rex Franciæ petiit ad opus suum Andeli, manerium Rothomagensis archiepiscopi. Quod cum

[1] *Eodem anno*] Rigord gives Jan. 15 as the date of the treaty, *ed. Pith.*, p. 197. The archbishop of Rouen, in a letter addressed to Ralph de Diceto, gives an account of the conference. This letter shows that it began within the octave of the Epiphany and lasted three days at least. R. Dic. 686, 687.

[2] *Yssoudun*] Ysodun, D. I.; Ysoudun, G.

[3] *Gysorcio*] Gisorcio, I.

[4] *omnia*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1196. January.

Claims of Philip on the archbishop of Rouen, who appeals to the pope.

nulla ratione fieri posset, rex Franciæ postulavit sibi fieri fidelitatem a Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo de illa parte archiepiscopatus quæ est in regno Franciæ, scilicet de Vogesin le Francais.[1] Videns igitur Rothomagensis archiepiscopus hoc sibi grave et ignominiosum esse, appellavit ad dominum papam pro statu ecclesiæ suæ, et abiit, timens ne dominus suus rex Angliæ ipsum ad hoc faciendum propter favorem regis Franciæ cogeret. O ambitio, quam cæca semper! O quam præsumptio pessima! O quam perdit concessa qui inconcessa captat! Philippus itaque rex Franciæ terrenum obsidens regnum, impugnat cœleste; terrenis inhians irruit in Divina; destinatus ad scelus, ad periculum promptus, paratus ad crimen, causas innocentiæ non requirit, jus abnegat; confundit fasque nefasque, cui nequitia est sodalis, cui otiosa est æquitas, iniquitas semper est amica, qui cædibus vivit, qui se munit sanguine, qui crudelitatibus sævit, cui de morte stat totum, de amore constat nihil. O!

Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 33, 34.
Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Philip resumes hostilities and Richard seizes the property of the sureties of the peace.

Procedente itaque tempore, pœnituit regem Franciæ se talem fecisse cum rege Angliæ conventionem: et magnum congregavit exercitum, et obsedit Albemarliam: quo facto, rex Angliæ præcepit saisiri in manu sua, in omni loco dominationis suæ citra mare et ultra, omnes res et possessiones abbatum de Majurmuster,[2] et de Cluinni,[3] et de Sancto Dionisio,[4] et de la Charite.[5] Erant enim prædicti abbates fidejussores erga regem Angliæ, quod rex Franciæ [6] supradictam pacem servaret;

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[1] *Francais*] Franceis, B. D. I.

[2] *Majurmuster*] Geoffrey de Corsouez, 1187–1210.

[3] *Cluinni*] Cluini, I. Hugh of Clermont, 1183–1198.

[4] *Sancto Dionisio*] Hugh Foucauld, 1186–1197.

[5] *de la Charite*] Savaric, or William, prior of la Charité.

[6] MS. G. which now frequently abridges the text, completes the sentence "de pace servanda."

et nisi fecerit, darent regi Angliæ xv. millia marcarum argenti. A.D. 1196.

Eodem anno Robertus comes Leicestriæ, datis Philippo regi Franciæ duabus millibus marcis argenti, et quieto clamato ei castello suo de Pasci, liberatus est a captione illius. The earl of Leicester liberated.

Eodem anno rex Angliæ misit Philippum Dunelmensem electum, et abbatem de Cadamo[1] in Angliam, ad inquisitionem faciendam de prisis justitiarum, et vicecomitum, et ministrorum suorum. Cum autem prædictus abbas de Cadamo in Dominica Passionis Domini pranderet cum Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ summo justitiario, ægrotavit in mensa, et quinto die sequenti obiit Londoniis. The elect of Durham and the abbot of Caen sent to visit the justices. Death of the abbot, April 11.

Interim Philippus rex Franciæ cepit per vim castellum de Albemarle, et subvertit illud, et rex Angliæ dedit ei tria millia marcarum argenti pro redemptione militum et servientum suorum, qui capti fuerunt in Albemarlia. Philip takes Aumâle,

Deinde rex Franciæ cepit per vim Nonancurt, et Johannes comes Moretonii, frater Ricardi regis Angliæ, cepit castellum de Gameges. and Nonancourt. John takes Gameges.

Eodem anno orta est dissensio inter cives Londoniarum. Frequentius enim solito propter regis captionem et alia accidentia imponebantur eis auxilia non modica, et divites propriis parcentes marsupiis volebant ut pauperes solverent universa. Quod cum quidam legis peritus, videlicet Willelmus cum Barba, filius Osberti, videret, zelo justitiæ et æquitatis accensus, factus est pauperum advocatus; volens quod unusquisque, tam dives quam pauper, secundum mobilia et facultates suas daret ad universa civitatis negotia; et abiit ad regem trans mare, et impetravit Disturbances in London. William Fitz-Osbert the champion of the poor.

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[1] *abbatem de Cadamo*] a blank for the Christian name. It was Robert, the eleventh abbot of S. Stephen's, and an officer of the Norman Exchequer. See W. Newb. v. 19.; Stapleton, *Rolls of the Norman Exch.*, i. pp. cli, cliv; and D'Achery's notes on the life of Lanfranc. MS. G. abridges this paragraph.

A.D. 1196. April. The archbishop's severity towards the discontented.

ab eo pacem sibi et populo. Unde Hubertus Walteri, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, regis justitiarius, plurimum in iram commotus, præcepit, ut ubicunque aliquis de plebe inveniretur extra civitatem, caperetur tanquam hostis regis et regni. Contigit autem quod in medio Quadragesimæ, apud nundinas de Stanforde, capti sunt quidam mercatores de plebe Londoniensi per præceptum justitiarii regis. Deinde præcepit idem justitiarius, ut supradictus Willelmus cum Barba ad eum duceretur etiam invitus, ad quem capiendum cum quidam de civibus, Gaufridus nomine, veniret, prædictus Willelmus cum Barba interfecit eum; cumque alii eum capere vellent, ipse aufugit cum quibusdam suorum, et incluserunt se in ecclesia quæ dicitur ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ del[1] Arche; qui cum inde exire nollent, factus est insultus in eos: et cum nec sic reddere se vellent, ex præcepto archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, regis justitiarii, appositus est ignis, ut per fumum et vaporem ignis exirent. Cumque prædictus Willelmus exiret, quidam extracto cultello evisceravit eum, et sic ductus est ad turrim Lundoniarum, et ibi judicatus est suspendi. Alligatus[2] igitur caudæ equi, trahitur per vicos civitatis et plateas, ad patibulum, ac suspensus est, cum octo sociis suis. Cæteri vero cives Lundoniarum, qui adhæserant ei, posuerunt se in misericordia regis, et obsides dederunt de pace servanda regi et regno.

London merchants arrested at Stamford Fair, at Midlent, March 31.

Attempted arrest and flight of William Fitz-Osbert.

He is dragged from Bow church and hanged.

Indignation of the monks of Canterbury at the violation of Bow church.

Monachi autem Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariensis, scientes quod ecclesia sua Lundoniis, quæ dicitur Sancta Maria del Arche, ita violaretur per præceptum archiepiscopi sui, qui, quamvis regi serviret, tamen ecclesiastica jura deberet servare illæsa, indignati sunt, et gravatum est cor eorum super eum, et non potuerunt cum eo quicquam pacifice loqui.

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[1] *del*] de, B. D. I. Gervase gives the date of the catastrophe, April 6, c. 1591.

[2] *Alligatus*] est, ins. B. D. I.

A.D. 1196

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Othoni nepoti suo comitatum Pictavis.

Otho made count of Poictou.

Eodem anno cum   comitissa Britanniæ, mater Arturi, veniret per mandatum Ricardi regis in Normanniam loqui cum eo, venit obviam ei Ranulphus comes Cestriæ, maritus ejus, ad Pontem Ursonis, et cepit eam, et inclusit eam in castello suo apud Sanctum Jacobum de Beverun; quam cum Arturus filius suus liberare non potuit, adhæsit regi Franciæ, et terras regis patrui sui combussit; deinde rex Angliæ magno congregato exercitu intravit hostiliter Britanniam, et eam devastavit.

The countess of Brittany imprisoned by her husband.

Arthur joins Philip, and Richard invades Brittany.

Interim Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus tandem ad sedem apostolicam accedens, diutinam moram ibi fecit, dominumque papam in omnibus agendis suis valde sibi difficilem, et contra se supra modum commotum, invenit. Processu vero temporis ipsi et adversariis suis tunc præsentibus data est audientia: et cum prædicta et alia plura ei objicerentur, quæ omnia archiepiscopus falsa esse constanter asseruit, requisiti adversarii utrum proposita probare vellent, post deliberationem petitam et concessam, responderunt se onus probationis nolle suscipere. Archiepiscopus vero se ab objectis immunem esse sufficienter ostendit; unde dominus papa eum de consilio totius curiæ ad officium et beneficium restituens, omnibus prælatis et aliis clericis per Eboracensem diocesim constitutis dedit in mandatis, ut ei tanquam archiepiscopo in omnibus debitam exhiberent reverentiam et obedientiam; insinuans in rescripto suo qualiter archiepiscopus se ab objectis immunem esse, et omnia ab adversariis de eo disseminata falsa et fictitia esse declaravit. Restitutionis vero ejus notitia ad regem Angliæ perveniente, qui archiepiscopum temporalibus jampridem spoliaverat, et ad ejus, ut dicebatur, cum adversariis suis aspirabat depositionem, valde turbatus fuit, et duobus adversariis suis præcepit, ut se de cura spiritualium

The archbishop of York meets his adversaries at the court of Rome.

The pope restores him to his see.

Consternation of Richard and his counsellors.

A.D. 1196. The king forbids him to administer his diocese.

intromitterent, nec archiepiscopum nec officiales suos aliquam habere administrationem permitterent. Ipse etiam rex præbendas Eboracensis ecclesiæ, et alia beneficia vacantia, pro voluntate sua clericis suis concessit et distribuit. Archiepiscopus vero a curia Romana rediens, et in Gallia moram faciens, non ausus terram regis ingredi, cum non posset in conspectu regis gratiam invenire, ut vel temporalium vel spiritualium possessione gauderet, reversus est, et ad curiam Romanam eundi iter arripuit.

The archbishop returns to Rome.

Agreement between Peter of Dinan and Adam of Thornover touching the archdeaconry of the West Riding.

Interim dominus rex Angliæ, prece Arturi ducis Britanniæ, et aliorum virorum potentum, dedit Petro de Dinan [1] licentiam agendi contra Adam de Tornovere super archidiaconatu de Westrihing, quem rex præfato Adæ dederat. Inter quos tandem convenit in hunc modum, quod magister Simon Apulus, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, et capitulum ejusdem ecclesiæ, concessione et voluntate prædicti Adæ, receperunt Petrum de Dinan in archidiaconatum de Westrihing, et in stallum miserunt tam in choro quam in capitulo; et ipse Petrus vices suas, et illius archidiaconatus administrationem, commisit ipsi [2] Adæ de Tornovere sub annua pensione lx. marcarum; statuens quod prædictus Adam archidiaconatum illum in integrum habeat et teneat omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, et reddat ei singulis annis inde xl.[3] marcas [4] de pensione; et si Petrus supervixerit Adam, recipiat archidiaconatum de Westrihing sine aliqua contradictione vel diminutione. Præterea inter illos statutum est, quod quandocunque simul fuerint in Eboraco, unus illorum una die tenebit stallum in choro nomine archidiaconi, et alter illorum

[1] *Dinan*] Originally written thus in A., but altered to Dinant in an early hand, in which very many attempts at the correction of the text are made. B. and G. have *Dinant*. Peter of Dinan became soon after this bishop of Rennes.

[2] *ipsi*] om. B. D. I.

[3] *xl.*] Savile reads "60."

[4] *marcas*] argenti, ins. B. I.

altera die similiter, et sic mutabunt vices suas de die in diem quamdiu moram simul fecerint[1] in Eboraco. A.D. 1196. Partition of the revenue and duties.

Et ut hæc[2] conventio inter illos rata sit, et inviolata permaneat, capitulum Eboraci eam confirmavit sigillo suo: sed antequam hujus conventionis notitia perveniret ad Eboracensem archiepiscopum, ipse hujusmodi litteras patentes misit in Angliam;

"Gaufridus Dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Angliæ "primas, decanis, presbyteris, et universis clericis per archi- "diaconatum constitutis, salutem et paternam benedictionem. "Noverit universitas vestra nos Petro de Dinan clerico "nostro archidiaconatum de Westrihing caritatis intuitu de- "disse: in quem Adam de Tornevere, sicut a multis certissime "didicimus, nescimus cujus auctoritate, se intrusit, et nomen "archidiaconatus sibi usurpat,[3] licet ordinatio archidiaco- "natuum, dignitatum, et ecclesiarum nostri archiepiscopatus "ad nos ad nos tantum, quibus hoc Divina miseratione est "concessum, pertineat. Et idem etiam Adam, post restitu- "tionem a domino papa nobis factam, contra nos et officiales "nostros in administratione rerum spiritualium diabolico in- "stinctu se immiscuit. Nos autem quicquid ipse Adam in "institutionibus, in excommunicationibus, in suspensionibus "et in aliquibus aliis, quæ nomine archidiaconi fecerit, irri- "tantes, et penitus auctoritate nostra adnihilantes, jam dictum "Adam excommunicavimus, vobis mandantes, et in virtute "obedientiæ præcipientes quatenus in nullo ei de cætero re- "spondeatis, sed ut excommunicatum vitetis.[4] Præterea vobis "notificamus, quod sententiam in Paulinum de Ecburford,[5] et "in alios qui contra obedientiam nobis debitam veniunt, ab "officialibus nostris magistro Radulfo de Kima,[6] et magistro "Honorio[7] non[8] ratam habemus et confirmamus. Valete." Archbishop Geoffrey declares Adam a usurper, and excommunicates him.

Eodem[9] anno, mense Julii, Philippus Dunelmensis electus ordinatus est in sacerdotem ab Henrico epi- June 15. Ordination of Philip elect of Durham.

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[1] *moram simul fecerint*] simul fuerint, B. I.

[2] *Et ut hæc*] omitted in B. D. I. with the following letter.

[3] *usurpat*] usurpavit, Savile.

[4] *vitetis*] habeatis, Savile.

[5] *Ecburford*] Etburford, G. ; Eburford, Savile.

[6] *Radulfo de Kima*] Shortly afterwards archdeacon of Cleveland and precentor of York.

[7] *Honorio*] Afterwards archdeacon of Richmond.

[8] *non*] So MS. A.; om. G., which is probably right.

[9] *Eodem*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

A.D. 1196. June 15. Ordination of Philip of Poictou.

scopo de Landaf, apud Dunelmum, in ecclesia Sancti Cuthberti, xvii° kalendas Julii, Sabbato in hebdomada Pentecostes.

War between the king of Scots and the earl of Orkney.

Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum, magno congregato exercitu, intravit Moreviam ad debellandum Haroldum Macmadit,[1] qui terram illam occupaverat. Sed antequam rex Cathaniam intraret, Haroldus fugit ad naves suas, nolens contra regem bellum inire. Tunc misit rex Scottorum exercitum suum ad Turseham,[2] villam prædicti Haroldi, et castellum suum ibidem situm prostravit. Videns autem Haroldus quod rex terram suam ex toto devastaret, venit ad pedes regis, et posuit se in misericordia ejus, maxime quia tempestas sæviebat in mari, et ventus erat ei contrarius, volenti ad Orchadam[3] insulam ire; et juravit regi quod adduceret illi omnes inimicos suos, cum rex alia vice rediret in Murreviam; et per illam conditionem permisit eum rex tenere medietatem Chathaniæ, et aliam medietatem Cathaniæ dedit rex Haroldo juniori,[4] nepoti Reginaldi quondam comitis de Orkeneia et de Cathania. Deinde reversus est rex in terram suam, et Haroldus in Orchadiam.[5]

Submission of the earl; his promises.

The earl fails to fulfil his engagements.

Deinde in autumno rediit rex Scottorum in Murreviam usque ad Ilvernarran,[6] ut reciperet ab Haroldo[7] inimicos suos; quos cum Haroldus produxisset usque ad portum de Locloy prope Dilvernarran, permisit eos abire; et sero, redeunte rege de venatu, venit ad eum Haroldus adducens secum duos pueros nepotes suos ad tradendum regi in obsides; et interrogatus ab rege ubi essent inimici ejus, quos tradere debuerat, et ubi esset

[1] *Haroldum Macmadit*] Harald son of Madach earl of Athol, was earl of Orkney from 1138, when he was quite a child, to 1206.

[2] *Turseham*] That is Thurso.

[3] *Orchadam*] Orcadam, B. I.

[4] *Haroldo juniori*] Harald son of Eric and Ingigerda, daughter of Ronald, who had shared the earldom of Orkney during the youth of Harald Mac Madach; Robertson, *Scotland, &c.*, pp. 405–411.

[5] *Orchadiam*] Orkeneiam, B. D. I.

[6] *Ilvernarran*] Now Nairn.

[7] *Haroldo*] Haraldo, D. I.

Torphinus filius ejus, quem obsidem dare promiserat, respondit, "Permisi eos abire, sciens quod si tradidis-"sem eos vobis, non evaderent manus vestras; filium "autem meum adducere non potui, quia in terra illa "non est alius hæres." Igitur quia ipse conventiones, quas cum domino suo rege fecit, non servaverat, judicatum est eum in captione regis remansurum, donec filius ejus veniret, et obses fieret. Et pro eo quod ipse permisit inimicos regis abire, judicatum est ipsum demeruisse terram quam ille[1] de rege tenebat. Et rex duxit[2] secum Haroldum usque ad castellum Puellarum, et tenuit eum in vinculis, donec homines sui de Orchadia adduxerunt filium suum Torphinum: et tradentes eum domino regi obsidem, liberaverunt Haroldum de captione regis. Et Haroldus reversus est in Orchadiam, et ibi mansit[3] in pace et quiete, donec Haroldus junior, accepta a Suero[4] Birkebain, rege Norweiæ, licentia calumniandi medietatem Orchadiæ, adduxit secum Siwardum Murd[5] de Hegland, et alios multos bellatores, et Orchadiam invasit; et noluit Haroldus senior cum eo pugnam ingredi, sed abiit in insulam de Man, relicta Orchadia; et ibi congregavit navigium, et homines multos. Similiter fecit Haroldus junior, et adiit insulam de Man, volens congredi cum Haroldo seniore; sed Haroldus senior ante adventum Haroldi junioris in Man, per aliam viam ingressus est Orchadiam, cum navigio suo, et interfecit omnes quos in Orchadia invenit. Quo audito, Haroldus junior reversus est[6] in Cathenes apud Wic, et commisit prælium cum Haroldo seniore: et in prælio illo Haroldus junior et omnis exercitus ejus interfecti sunt. Interfecto itaque[7] Haroldo juniori, Haroldus senior venit ad

A.D. 1196. He is taken and imprisoned at Edinburgh.

The men of Orkney seize his son and deliver him to the king in his father's place.

War between the two Harolds.

Defeat of the younger Harold.

[1] *ille*] ipse, D. I.

[2] *rex duxit*] reduxit, B. I.

[3] *mansit*] manxit, A.

[4] *Suero*] Swero, B. D. I.; Birkabain, D.

[5] *Murd*] Murt, I.; de Egland, G.

[6] *reversus est*] om. D. I.

[7] *itaque*] namque, D. I.

A.D. 1196. Negotiation for the earldom of Caithness.

regem Scottorum per conductum Rogeri et Reginaldi, episcoporum Sancti Andreæ et Rosmarkin, et obtulit regi copiam auri et argenti pro Cathania, id est, Catenes, rehabendo; cui rex respondit, quod terram illam sibi traderet, si uxorem suam filiam Malcolmi Machaz[1] dimisisset, et priorem sponsam suam, sororem Dunecani comitis de Fif, resumpsisset, et tradidisset ei in obsidem Laurentium clericum suum, et Honaver[2] filium Iggemundi; quod Haroldus facere noluit. Venit ergo Reginaldus,[3] filius Sumerled, rex de Man, ad Willelmum regem Scottorum, et emit ab eo Chathaniam, salvo regis redditu annuo.

It is bought by Ronald.

William de Chimely made bishop of Avranches.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Willelmo de Chimely, archidiacono de Richemund, episcopatum Abrincarum[4] in Normannia; et idem rex dedit magistro Eustachio, sigillifero suo, archidiaconatum de Richemund.

The archbishop of Canterbury offers to resign the Justiciarship.

Eodem anno Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, et totius Angliæ summus justitiarius, sæpe et multum sollicitavit per internuncios suos dominum suum Ricardum regem Angliæ, ut eum liberaret a regimine regni, ostendens ipsum non posse sufficere regimini ecclesiæ et regni. Cum igitur rex, licet invitus, eo quod non erat inventus similis illi, qui conservaret leges et jura regni, precibus tamen illius inclinatus, illum a sollicitudine regiminis regni removere vellet, pœnituit eum tale fecisse regi mandatum, expertus, quod in custo-

[1] *Malcolmi Machaz*] Malcolm MacHeth, earl of Moray; said to be identical with Wimund bishop of Man. W. Newb., i. 24.

[2] *Honaver*] Bonaver, I. Ingemund was governor, under Norway, of the isle of Man in 1111. Robertson, i. 364. Whether the same person may be questioned.

[3] *Reginaldus*] Ronald, king of Man, was son of Godred. Ronald, son of Somerled, was a subordinate king of the Sudreys. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. 412.

[4] *Abrincarum*] Albricarum, B. William de Chimeli was bishop elect of Avranches from 1196 to 1197, and translated to Angers before consecration; he was bishop of Angers from 1197 to 1202, when he died.

diendis illis est retributio multa, et inspectis scriptis, et computationibus auditis, mandavit regi, quod infra biennium proximo præteritum adquisierat ad opus illius undecies centena millia marcarum argenti de regno Angliæ; subjungens, quod si servitium ejus videretur illi necessarium, non recusaret laborem, nec fatiscentem causaretur ætatem. O infelicem[1] præsulem! licet sæpius legisset "Neminem posse duobus dominis servire; aut "enim unum odio habebit, et alterum diliget; aut unum "sustinebit, et alterum contemnet;" præelegit tamen officium sacerdotale postponere, quam regi terreno non adhærere: et sic accepta regni regiminis potestate, officii administrationem ecclesiastici, cui professionis voto astrictus fuerat, parvipendens, pro castris regis Angliæ stare non recusavit.

A.D. 1196. He changes his mind and retains it.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Philippo Dunelmensi electo licentiam fabricandi monetam in civitate sua Dunelmensi, quod prædecessoribus suis a multo tempore retro non erat permissum.

The bishop's mint re-established at Durham.

Eodem anno exstitit in Anglia, et in omnibus finibus ejus, fames magna, et hominum mortalitas.

Famine.

Eodem anno   comes de Sancto Egidio duxit in uxorem Johannam sororem Ricardi regis Angliæ, quondam reginam Siciliæ.

Raymond of Toulouse marries queen Johanna.

Eodem[2] anno obiit Henricus Wigornensis episcopus, cui successit, dono Ricardi regis, Johannes de Constantiis, Rothomagensis decanus.

John of Contances made bishop of Worcester.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus, comes de Salesbiri, filius comitis Patricii; cujus filiam et hæredem Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit in uxorem cum comitatu Salesbiriensi Willelmo fratri suo notho.

William son of Henry II. made earl of Salisbury.

Eodem anno obiit Mauricius episcopus Parisius.[3]

The bishop of Paris dies.

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[1] *infelicem*] felicem, B. D I.; MS. G. omits the sentence.

[2] *Eodem . . . decanus*] om. B. D. I. An attempt has been made to erase the entry in MS. A. The bishop died in fact in 1195, and his death is recorded in vol. iii. p. 306.

[3] *Eodem . . . Parisius*] om. B. D. I. Bishop Maurice died Sept. 13. Rigord, 198.

A.D. 1196.

The queen of Hungary takes the cross and goes to Palestine.

Eodem anno obiit Bela rex Hungariæ; post cujus obitum Margareta uxor ejus, soror Philippi regis Franciæ, quæ quondam exstiterat regina Angliæ, uxor Henrici regis junioris, accepit crucem Jerosolimitanæ profectionis, et in terra Jerosolimitana apud Accon in Dei servitio permansit,[1] usque ad consummationem vitæ suæ.

Death of Bouchard de Puiset;

Eodem anno obiit Bucardus,[2] Eboracensis ecclesiæ thesaurarius, cujus thesaurariam Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit magistro Eustachio[3] sigillifero suo.

and of Peter de Ros.

Eodem anno obiit Petrus de Ros,[4] quo defuncto, Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Aimerico,[5] nepoti Philippi Dunelmensis electi, archidiaconatum Carleoli,[6] et Philippus Dunelmensis electus dedit eidem Aimerico nepoti suo archidiaconatum de Dunelmo, et ecclesiam de Acclet,[7] quæ prædictus Bucardus habuerat.

Promotions in consequence.

Richard fortifies the isle of Andely and Normandy is put under interdict.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ[8] firmavit novum castellum in insula de Andeli, contra voluntatem et prohibitionem Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi; et, quia rex ab inceptis desistere noluit, prædictus archiepiscopus dedit sententiam interdicti in Normanniam, et abiit ad summum pontificem.

Hugh of Chaumont captured and imprisoned at Bonneville.

Eodem anno facta congressione inter familiam regis Franciæ et regis Angliæ, Hugo de Chaumunt, miles probus et dives, et valde familiaris regi Franciæ, captus est, et regi Angliæ traditus; quem rex Angliæ tradidit Roberto de Ros custodiendum, et Robertus tradidit illum Willelmo del Espinai servienti suo custodiendum in castello de Bona Villa supra[9] Toke; qui cum minus

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[1] *permansit*] permanxit, A.; she died in 1197. See p. 32 below.

[2] *Bucardus*] Burcardus, D.

[3] *Eustachio*] Afterwards bishop of Ely.

[4] *Petrus de Ros*] Archdeacon of Carlisle, 1180–1196.

[5] *Aimerico*] Aimeric Thebert, archdeacon of Carlisle, 1196; also archdeacon of Durham as late as 1213.

[6] *Carleoli*] Cardeoli, I.

[7] *Acclet*] Atlech, C.; MS. G. omits the clause.

[8] *Angliæ*] om. B. I.

[9] *supra*] super, D. I.

caute custodiretur, per murum de nocte demissus[1] est, permissione et consensu prædicti Willelmi del Espinai. Unde rex Angliæ iratus, eo quod Hugo de Chaumund sic manus suas evasit, cepit Robertum de Ros, et incarceravit, et cepit de eo M. et CC. marcas argenti de redemptione, et Willelmus del Espinai, proditor domini sui, suspensus est in patibulo.

A.D. 1196. He escapes. Richard hangs William of Espinai.

Eodem anno Radulfus de Wigetoft, clericus Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, infirmabatur Romæ usque ad mortem, et coram domino papa Cœlestino et universis cardinalibus confessus est,[2] quod ipse multas litteras falsas in curia Romana adquisierat, tam de negotio domini sui Eboracensis archiepiscopi, quam de suo negotio proprio; et quod jam illas in Angliam[3] præmiserat. Unde dominus papa in mandatis dedit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ut si aliquæ litteræ super negotio Eboracensis archiepiscopi inventæ fuissent continentes aliquid citra æquitatem et justitiam, retinerentur. Unde factum est, quod Rogerus de Ripun,[4] clericus, portitor harum,[5] qui et toxicum portabat, inventus est Lundoniis, dicens quod Radulfus de Wigetot[6] tradiderat ea illi. Dicebat etiam quod toxicum illud traditum ei fuerat ad perdendum magistrum Simonem Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanum, et quosdam alios ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicos. Ad vocationem igitur Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, regis justitiarii, venit Lundonias prædictus decanus Eboraci, et tradita sunt ei venenum illud, et annuli aurei, et zona pulcherrima toxicata ad comburendum; quibus traditis, convenit multitudo maxima virorum et mulierum, in loco qui dicitur Totehil,[7] ut testes fierent combustionis illorum; et sic igni tradita sunt, et redacta in cineres; portitor autem

Ralph of Wigetoft, at Rome, confesses that he has sent forged letters to England.

Roger of Ripon arrested at London, carrying poison and forged letters.

The letters and poison are burned at Tothill.

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[1] *demissus*] dimissus, Savile.

[2] *confessus est*] inserted in later hand in A.

[3] *Angliam*] Anglia, B. I.

[4] *Ripun*] Ripunt, B.; altered in a later hand to Ripunt, A. The paragraph in G. is much abridged.

[5] *harum*] litterarum, ins. Savile.

[6] *Wigetot*] Wigetoft, I.

[7] *Totehil*] Totehull, C.

A.D. 1196. The crime charged against Geoffrey.

illorum in carcere servabatur; et adversarii Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi omne crimen ei objiciunt.

May 19. John captures the bishop of Beauvais and William de Merlou.

Eodem anno Johannes comes Moretonii, frater regis, et Marchades princeps nefandæ gentis Bribancenorum, fecerunt xivto kalendas Junii, feria secunda, equitationem ante civitatem de Bealvaiz,[1] et dum intenderent prædæ capiendæ, Philippus Episcopus Belvacensis, et Willelmus de Merlou, una cum filio suo, et militibus multis et plebe armata, exierunt et ipsi armati; sed mox confecti sunt in prælio et capti prædictus Belvacensis episcopus, et Willelmus de Merlou, et filius ejus, et milites nonnulli, et ex plebe maxima pars interfecta est. Et eodem die, post captionem illam, comes Johannes et Marchades processerunt usque Milli, castellum prædicti Belvacensis episcopi, et per insultum ceperunt illud, et prostraverunt; et sic gloriosi triumphatores redierunt in Normanniam, et tradiderunt regi Angliæ Belvacensem episcopum, et Willelmum de Merlou et filium ejus, et alios captivos multos.

Octavus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Dec. 25. Richard keeps Christmas at Bur.

Normandy is still under interdict

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo septimo, qui est annus octavus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, idem Ricardus fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Natalis Domini, quæ quarta feria evenit; plurimum confusus, eo quod Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus noluit relaxare interdicti sententiam quam in Normanniam tulerat. Corpora enim defunctorum insepulta jacebant per vicos et plateas civitatum Normanniæ. Misit ergo rex Willelmum Eliensem episcopum cancellarium suum, et[2] Lexoviensem episcopum, et

[1] *Bealvaiz*] Bellavez, Savile; Belavez, B. D. I.

[2] *et*] blank for name of bishop of Lisieux, William de Rupierre, bishop 1191–1201.

Philippum Dunelmensem electum, ut coram domino papa causam suam defenderent contra præfatum [1] Rothomagensem archiepiscopum. Qui cum Pictavim venissent, Willelmus episcopus Eliensis, regis cancellarius, ægrotavit usque [2] mortem, et mortuus est, et sepultus; et quamdiu ipse in extremis laborasse videretur, quædam crux lignea in cathedrali ejusdem civitatis ecclesia, quæ dicitur crux [3] Sancti Martialis, plorasse videbatur ita vehementer, quod quasi rivulus aquæ, ab oculis ejus defluens, faciem illius rigaret. Populus autem dicebat hoc jam tertio evenisse; primo in obitu [4] ejusdem civitatis episcopi; secundo in recessu Johannis Belesmains,[5] ejusdem civitatis episcopi; tertio in obitu istius Willelmi Eliensis episcopi.

A.D. 1197. January. The bishop of Ely dies at Poictiers on the way to Rome, (Jan. 31.)

The cross of S. Martial sheds tears.

Quo defuncto, Lexoviensis episcopus et Dunelmensis electus processerunt in negotio domini [6] sui. Dominus autem rex, non immemor servitii quod prædictus cancellarius ei fecerat, dedit Roberto fratri illius, priori Eliensi, abbatiam Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci,[7] quem Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, benedixit in abbatem.

The bishop of Lisieux and elect of Durham go to Rome.

Robert Longchamp made abbot of S. Mary's York.

Convenientibus igitur in præsentia domini papæ Cœlestini præfato Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et episcopo Lexoviensi, et electo Dunelmensi; archiepiscopus Rothomagensis protestatus est jus suum, quod habebat in Andeli, et injuriam quam Ricardus rex Angliæ ei fecerat firmando castellum in patrimonio ecclesiæ Rothomagensis injuste et contra voluntatem et assensum illius. Ad quod supradicti regis nuncii responderunt, quod dominus rex sæpe et multum obtulerat ei per internuncios suos, videlicet viros venerabiles et discretos,

Plea of the archbishop of Rouen at Rome; and reply of Richard's agents.

[1] *præfatum*] prædictum, B. D. I.

[2] *usque*] ad, ins. B. D. I.

[3] *crux*] om. D. I.

[4] *obitu*] Blank for name.

[5] *Belesmains*] Belesmeins, I.; Belesmiens, D.

[6] *domini*] regis, ins. D. I.

[7] Robert Longchamp was abbot of S. Mary's from 1197 to 1239. He was elected at Westminster, March 17; and blessed at Colchester, March 23. R. Dic. 696.

A.D. 1197. Argument of Richard for fortifying Andely.

episcopos et abbates, comites et barones, se in omnibus satisfacturum illi ad æstimationem proborum virorum. Asserebant enim ex parte regis, quod ipse insulam illam de Andeli, in qua castellum firmaverat, nullo modo dimittere posset, quia rex Franciæ et sui perinde transitum faciebant in Normanniam, et sæpius eam devastabant; et ideo[1] rex Angliæ locum illum muniierat ad defensionem terræ suæ contra regem Franciæ. Et super his prædictus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus et præfati regis nuncii compromiserunt se examini domini papæ et Romanæ ecclesiæ. Unde factum est, quod dominus papa et cardinales post diutinam deliberationem, attendentes damna et inopportunitates quæ acciderent Normanniæ, nisi locus ille de Andeli firmaretur, consuluerunt præfato Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, quod cum domino suo rege amicabiliter componeret, et ab eo sufficienter recompensationem ablatorum reciperet, secundum proborum et sapientum virorum æstimationem; dicentes bene licere regi et cuilibet potenti infirmiora terræ suæ munire, ne perinde damnum sibi et suis contingat.

The archbishop consents to receive compensation.

De consecratione Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi.

April 20. Philip elect of Durham consecrated.

Interim dominus papa Cœlestinus consecravit Philippum Dunelmensem electum in episcopum Dunelmensem, Dominica qua cantatur "Misericordias Domini;" quæ eodem anno contigit duodecimo kalendas Maii. Consecrato itaque Dunelmensi episcopo, dominus papa Cœlestinus relaxavit interdicti sententiam, quam Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus in Normanniam tulerat, propter firmationem castelli insulæ de Andeli, et dimisit eos.

The interdict of Normandy raised.

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[1] *ideo*] idcirco, Savile.

Redeuntibus autem ad dominum Ricardum regem Angliæ, supradicto Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et Lexoviensi et Dunelmensi episcopis, cum forma pacis inter prædictum regem et Rothomagensem archiepiscopum de consilio domini papæ et cardinalium ordinata; idem rex, convocatis episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus Normanniæ, dedit Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et ejus successoribus, in recompensationem villæ suæ de Andeli, villam de Depe cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et vallem de Malaunai,[1] et molendina de Robec in civitate Rothomagi, et Luvers cum pertinentiis suis,[2] et carta sua confirmavit. Hæc contra Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus quietum clamavit Ricardo regi Angliæ, et hæredibus suis, Andeli cum pertinentiis suis, ab ipso et successoribus suis. A.D. 1197. Agreement between Richard and the archbishop of Rouen.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ venit ad Sanctum Walericum, et villam combussit, et destructis monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, asportavit secum in Normanniam feretrum cum reliquiis Sancti Walerici: et in portu illo invenit naves, quæ venerant de Anglia, onustas frumento et victualibus, et cepit eas, et earum nautas fecit suspendi, et naves combussit, et frumentum[3] et victualia suis distribuit. Richard burns S. Valery and removes the relics.

Eodem anno Campani et Flandrenses et Britones, relicto rege Franciæ, adhæserunt Ricardo regi Angliæ, datis hinc inde obsidibus, quod non facerent concordiam neque pacem cum rege Franciæ, nisi de communi illorum consilio. Rex enim Angliæ illos, et fere omnes potentiores de regno Franciæ, muneribus allexit: nam ejus prælarga manus donis cætera vincebat dona; Richard makes alliance with the French nobles against Philip.

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[1] *Malaunai*] altered to *Malandai*, in A. Savile has *Malandai*. MS. I. omits the word.

[2] *et vallem . . . suis*] om. D. I. The Act by which the exchange was finally completed is given by Ralph de Diceto, cc. 698, 699; and is dated October 16. The papal confirmation is also given, but without date, col. 701. There are some differences between these and the account in the text.

[3] *frumentum*] frumenta, D. I.

A.D. 1197.

"Nec tamen in dando mensuram deserit, immo,
"Singula describit certo moderamine finis."

Alliance with the Count of Flanders.

Dedit itaque Baldewino comiti Flandriæ pro auxilio suo quinque millia marcarum argenti; et[1] obsides dedit quod ipse cum rege Franciæ pacem non faceret, nisi de consensu regis Angliæ; similiter fecit ei rex Angliæ.

Surrender of Dangu to Richard; it is besieged by Philip.

Deinde Willelmus Crespin,[2] constabularius de Dangu, vi compulsus, tradidit Ricardo regi Angliæ castellum de Dangu, quod ipse rex[3] statim sufficienter munivit hominibus et armis et victualibus; et rex Franciæ mox magno congregato exercitu obsedit illud. Et dum hæc fierent, Ricardus rex Angliæ perrexit in Alverniam, et decem de castellis regis Franciæ et suorum cepit. Sed antequam rex Angliæ rediret in Normanniam, rex Franciæ cepit castellum de Dangu, concessis militibus et servientibus qui in eo erant vita et membris; et accepit de eis quingentas marcas argenti de redemptione, et permisit illos liberos abire, et castellum illud firmavit, et in manu sua retinuit.

Richard invades Auvergne and Philip takes Dangu.

The count of Flanders besieges Arras.

Interim Baldewinus comes Flandriæ obsedit civitatem de Araz; quo audito, rex Franciæ venit illuc cum copioso exercitu; in cujus adventu comes Flandriæ, relicta obsidione, rediit in terram suam, et rex Franciæ secutus est eum: cumque rex Franciæ longius processisset, comes Flandriæ fecit pontes diruere ante regem Franciæ et retro, ita quod neque victus neque exercitus ejus potuit ad eum accedere. Tunc rex Franciæ in arcto positus supplicavit comiti Flandriæ, ne ipse[4] coronam Franciæ contaminaret, asserens quod ipse ea intentione Flandriam intraverat, ut cum illo amicabiliter componeret; jurans quod ipse redderet illi totum jus suum, si dimisisset Ricardum regem Angliæ extra

Philip attempting to relieve it, narrowly escapes capture.

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[1] *et*] *ipse* added as a correction in A.; ins. B. The treaty between Baldwin and Richard is given in the *Fœdera*, i. 67, 68, but without date.

[2] *Crespin*] Crispin, B. D. G. I.

[3] *rex*] Angliæ, ins. B. D. I.

[4] *ipse*] ipsam, I.

pacem. Et quia comes Flandriæ contra pactum[1] quod cum rege Angliæ fecerat venire noluit, cepit colloquium inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ, feria quarta post festum Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis, inter Gwailliun[2] et Andeli; et sic rex Franciæ liberatus a captione comitis Flandriæ rediit in Franciam, sed nullam conventionem, quam comiti Flandriæ fecit, tenere voluit.

A.D. 1197. Conference proposed between Richard and Philip for Sept. 17.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit magistro Eustachio,[3] vicecancellario suo, episcopatum de Ely.

Eustace made bishop of Ely.

Eodem anno Johanna soror Ricardi regis Angliæ, uxor Raimundi comitis de Sancto Egidio, peperit filium suum primogenitum, et vocatum est nomen ejus Raimundus.

Queen Johanna bears a son.

Eodem anno obiit Resus filius Griffini rex : [4] post cujus obitum facta est discordia inter filios suos, quis eorum loco patris regnaret: ad quam exstinguendam Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, regis justitiarius, fines Gwalliæ adiit, et pacem inter illos fecit.

Archbishop Hubert invades Wales.

Interim Philippus Belvacensis episcopus, misso [5] Aurelianensi episcopo fratre suo Romam, dum adhuc esset in captione regis Angliæ, in hac forma scripsit Cœlestino summo pontifici;

The bishop of Beauvais writes to the pope.

Epistola[6] *Philippi Belvacensis episcopi ad Cœlestinum papam de captione sua.*

"Venerabili domino et patri Cœlestino, summo pontifici, "Philippus Belvacensis episcopus salutem, et obedientiæ canonicæ devotionem. Supernæ dignitatis favor felicitatem "vestram et multiplices successus evexit in altum, ad me-

The letter.

[1] *pactum*] factum, B. D. I.

[2] *Gwailliun*] Gwaillun, I.; Gwannun originally in A., corrected to Gwailliun, Gwaillun, B.

[3] *Eustachio*] He was consecrated March 8, 1198, at Westminster. R. Dic. 701.

[4] *rex*] A blank left for the name of the kingdom. C. supplies *Walliæ*. He was prince of South Wales 1136–1197.

[5] *misso*] Blank for the name of the bishop of Orleans, Henry of Dreux, 1186–1206. Aureliensi, A.

[6] *Epistola*] This letter, with the answer of the pope, is regarded as certainly fictitious. They are in all the MSS.

A.D. 1197. Letter of the bishop of Beauvais to the pope complaining of his imprisonment.

" moriam reducens illud legale, 'Insontes invitat ad culpam, " 'qui sontes præterit impunitos.' Universis ecclesiis jam " quasi notorium habetur, quam irreverenter, quamque inhu- " manitus in dominum suum regem Francorum rex Angliæ " jam pridem insurrexerit, similis homini, qui montem mag- " num fune circumligatum tentat dejicere: afferens igitur " secum ignem et gladium, subnixus etiam apostaticis Brai- " bancenorum cohortibus, patriam nostram irruebat circum- " quaque depopulando. Quod cum vidissem, illius legalis non " immemor, 'Vim vi repellere licet,' et illius, 'Pugna pro " 'patria,' militum et civium cuneis et aciei procerum im- " mixtus, hostibus irruentibus obviam exivi. Sed humanis " noverca fortuna consiliis propositum rei sinistro mancipavit " effectui. Captus quidem ibi sum, et vinculis gravibus et " catenis addictus; nec ordinis dignitas nec Dei reverentia " remedii aliquid vel mitigationis mihi contulerunt. Taliter " ergo rex Angliæ in christum Domini more lupino sævire " non formidavit, nec vestris auribus incognitum existima- " mus. Quid ergo dissimulatis? Quis pater videret filium " errare, et taceret? Quis virga filium non percuteret, ut " gladium non incurreret? Desperat pater de filio, quem " comminatione non corripit, vel flagello. Luce quidem " clarius elucescit, quod rex Angliæ, cæterique complices sui, " qui violenter manus in nos injecerunt, dictæ sententiæ ca- " nonem inciderunt; injurias nobis et molestias enormiter " illatas vestræ paternitati lacrymabiliter insinuans: lacrymis " nostris et petitioni clementer condescendatis. Indignum " est siquidem subjectorum petitionem ad vos directam, vacuam " reverti et inanem, quæ etiam humilitatem redolet, et ratio- " nis subnixa est præsidio. Nec immunis est a culpa, qui " quod potest corrigere, dissimulat emendare; nec caret[1] " scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui manifesto facinori desinit " obviare. Licet igitur verba doloris totiens multiplicaverim, " pater sancte, ne miremini. Nescit, immo nequit pectoris " claustro dolor assiduus sepeliri. Valeat paternitas vestra."

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[1] *caret*] a, ins. B. I.

Rescriptum Cœlestini papæ ad Philippum Belvacensem episcopum.[1]

A.D. 1197.

Letter of the pope to the bishop of Beauvais telling him that he deserves what has befallen him.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto fratri "Philippo Belvacensi episcopo salutem, et ab exorbitatione "reditum maturare. Sinistre licet tibi evenerit, nec mirum. "Cunctorum enim meretur odium, qui omnium se in com- "mune approbat inimicum. Præsulem namque pacificum "exuens, militem bellicosum induisti: clypeum pro infula, "gladium pro stola, loricam pro alba, galeam pro mitra, "lanceam pro baculo pastorali, ordinem rerum et seriem per- "vertens, temerarius bajulasti; non vim, sicut allegas, sed vir- "tutem vi repellere volens, non pro patria, sed contra patriam "pugnans. De Gallia namque vestra jam publice declarare "possumus: 'Væ terræ cujus rex puer est.' Rex namque "vester regi Anglorum sacramento corporaliter præstito tene- "batur astrictus super indemnitate tam oppidorum quam "terrarum suarum sibi fideliter observanda, saltem usque ad "reditum ab itinere peregrinationis suæ. Sed contra fidem "et sacramentum impudenter veniens, oppida prædicti regis "violenter occupavit, terram suam hostili manu crudeliter "vastavit: ab ergastulo rediens tandem regi vestro rex ille "viriliter occurrit, non de multitudine, sed in Domino Deo "spem ponens. Non enim virorum, vel virium, sed virtutum "copia bella vincuntur. Pro rege quidem Angliæ contra "superbiam humilitas, contra injuriam jus et æquitas; contra "arrogantiam et intemperantiam, modus et modestia hucusque "dimicaverunt. Numerosis enim virtutibus non viribus im- "munes viri victoriam consequuntur. Injuriam armis irro- "gatam armorum propulsare remedio leges et jura permittunt. "Nunc vero tamen, licet sero, rex Angliæ se suamque mani- "festavit animositatem; quoniam vix est, ut virtus clausa "celari, ut animositatis ardor extingui, ut probitatis scintilla "comprimi valeat, et includi. Virtus enim claudi nescit: "et ignis oppressus in flammam erumpit. Effrænem siquidem "domini tui vesaniæ non solum consiliarium, sed et compli- "cem te tam insipientem quam insolentem exhibuisti; quæ- "sisti et invenisti; pulsasti, et pulsatus procubuisti; in "foveam quam fecisti, merito incidisti; ubi autem inventus, "ibi judicatus. Sicut igitur ex litterarum tuarum nobis direc- "tarum tenore perpendimus; excessus proprios[2] nobis impu-

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[1] It is hardly necessary to remark that this letter is a fabrication.

[2] *proprios*] patrios, Savile.

A.D. 1197. Letter of the pope to the bishop of Beauvais.

"tans, culpam tuam in nos retorquere laboras, nos tepidos "asserens et dissimulatores. Quid ergo si ovis in pastorem, "in patrem filius insurgat? nec pastor, quem non pavisse; nec "pater erit, quem non pœniteat educasse. Nocens ergo in "homine telum est, simplicitatis imagine malignam astutiam "palliare. Regi tamen Anglorum pro te litteras dirigimus "supplicatorias. Qualitate namque captionis tuæ medullitus "inspecta, in tali casu non possumus nec debemus imperare, "sed tantum supplicare. Victis[1] ergo sapienter vincendum[2] "est, quia sic legitur, 'Sapientia vincit malitiam.' Nos autem "pro te supplicamus non importune, sed opportune. Argu-"mentum enim diffidentiæ est importunæ,[3] importuna precum "instantia. Debitum quoque facilius exsequitur patiens ex-"spectatio, quam extorquet importuna petitio. Interim vero[4] "vinculis et lamentis mancipatus, vincula tua lamentaque "leniter patienterque sustineas, juxta illud poetæ,—

"Leniter ex merito quicquid patiare ferendum est: Ovid. *Epist.* v. 8.
"Quæ venit indigne pœna dolenda venit.

"Et illud merito lamentis expiandum est, quod cum pudoris "dispendio venter adquirit. Datum—."

Death of the bishop of Poictiers.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus[5] Pictavensis episcopus; et quamvis vita illius videretur hominibus valde reprehensibilis, tamen ipse post obitum ejus claruit in miraculis.

Truce for a year between Richard and Philip.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ, et Ricardus rex Angliæ, statuerunt inter se treugas a festo Sancti Hilarii in unum annum; habentes in proposito, quod interim[6] pacem et concordiam finalem inter se facerent.

The count of Flanders visits Canterbury.

Deinde Baldewinus comes Flandriæ venit in Angliam in peregrinatione ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem.

Baptism of Frederick of Sicily.

Eodem anno filius Henrici Romanorum imperatoris, quem pepererat ei Constantia imperatrix, filia Rogeri quondam regis Siciliæ, puer septem annorum, baptizatus est, et vocatum est nomen ejus Fredericus.

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[1] *Victis*] Victor, Savile.

[2] *vincendum*] vincendus, Savile.

[3] *importunæ*] om. Savile; inoportunæ, B.

[4] *vero*] ergo, B. D. I.

[5] *Willelmus*] De Tempier, bishop, 1184–1197: died Mar. 29. MS. D. omits this and what follows as far as *inauditum*, p. 26.

[6] *interim*] iterum, Savile.

Eodem anno Jordanus de Curci, frater Johannis de Curci principis regni de Ulvestir in Hibernia, a quodam Hibernense familiari suo interfectus est. In cujus vindictam prædictus Johannes frater ejus commisit prælium cum Hibernensibus regulis; ex quibus partem fugavit, partem stravit, et terras eorum sibi subjugavit; quarum partem magnam dedit Dunecano[1] filio Gilberti filii Fergus, qui eo tempore, quo prædictus Johannes præliaturus erat cum Hibernensibus, venit ad eum in Hibernia cum gente non modica auxiliaturus illi. A.D. 1197. Jordan de Courcy killed in Ireland. John de Courcy gives lands to Duncan of Galloway who assists in avenging him.

Eodem anno Nicholaus episcopus de Wic in Norweia commisit prælium cum Suero[2] Birkebain, et ab eo victus fugit, omnibus suis fere interfectis. Defeat of the bishop of Wic by Swerrer.

Eodem anno præfatus Aurelianensis[3] episcopus, qui pro liberatione Philippi fratris sui Romam profectus fuerat, obiit apud Senes-la-veile. Defeat of the bishop of Orleans.

Eodem anno Henricus Romanorum imperator magnum exercitum misit in terram Suliæ, sub principibus Maguntino[4] archiepiscopo, et Henrico duce Saxoniæ comite Palatino de Reno,[5] et duce de Loven,[6] et duce de Saringes,[7] et duce de Ostricio filio Limpoldi ducis, et duce de Swthede,[8] et duce de Baiveria,[9] et Walranno fratre ducis de Lamburg,[10] et comitibus multis. Præfatus autem Walrannus ante alios applicuit in terra Jerosolimitana cum gente sua, et statim invasit paganos, et quotquot invenit de paganis interficiens, violavit pacem et treugas quas rex Angliæ in recessu suo de terra Jerosolimitana Henry VI. sends an army into Palestine. Waleran of Limburg breaks the peace with the Saracens.

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[1] *Dunecano*] Lord of Galloway.

[2] *Suero*] Swero, B. I.

[3] *Aurelianensis*] Aureliensis, A. Henry of Dreux : he died April 25, and was buried at Sienna; *Gall. Chr.* viii. 1456. B. calls Sienna *Senes-la-Vielle*; G. omits the sentence.

[4] *Maguntino*] Blank for the name in A. Conrad of Wittelsbach.

[5] *Reno*] Henry, the son of Henry the Lion, made Count Palatine in 1196.

[6] *Loven*] Loven, A., corr. Lovein, Luvein, B.

[7] *Saringes*] Berthold V. was duke of Zähringen from 1178 to 1218.

[8] *Swthede*] Perhaps Philip of Swabia; but C. and G. read *Swethe*.

[9] *Baiveria*] Lewis I. of Wittelsbach, 1183–1231.

[10] *Lamburg*] Waleran was son (not brother) of Henry III., duke of Limburg, who reigned from 1170 to 1221.

A.D. 1197. Saffadin besieges Joppa.

statuit inter Christianos et paganos. Unde Saphadin frater Saladini et cæteri pagani, plurimum commoti, interfecerunt omnes quos attigerant Christianos, et obsederunt Jopen.

De obitu Henrici comitis de Campania.

Death of Henry of Champagne king of Jerusalem.

Comes autem Henricus de Campania, qui per electionem regum Franciæ et Angliæ, et Templariorum et Hospitalorum, præerat terræ Jerosolimitanæ, exercitum Christianorum paravit ad obsidionem illam solvendam: et dum ipse nixus columnæ cujusdam fenestræ in thalamo superiori, loqueretur ad turbas, fracta est columna illa, et ille corruens in terram, fractis cervicibus exspiravit. Saraceni vero ceperunt Jopen, et interfecerunt in ea plus quam viginti millia Christianorum. Post obitum vero Henrici comitis de Campania, dux de Luvain et Henricus dux Saxoniæ[1] receperunt se in civitate Accon; sed nihil possederunt extra portas civitatis, et nihil victus potuit eis afferri propter metum paganorum. Exercitus autem imperatoris, qui de Alemannia et cæteris terris ejus iter Jerosolimitanum per mare susceperat, transitum fecit in[2] Normanniam et Angliam; et sic rectum cursum tenens usque in Hispaniam, eripuit civitatem Silviæ de manu paganorum; quam penitus destruxerunt, non relinquentes lapidem super lapidem: timebant enim quod, si eam tradidissent regi Portugalensi, ipse eam amitteret, sicut prius fecerat.

Joppa is taken. The crusaders shut themselves up in Acre.

The German army retakes Silvia.

De miraculo quod contigit in peregrinatione Alemannorum versus Jerusalem.

Miracle in the German army.

In peregrinatione autem peditum gentis ejusdem imperatoris, contigit quoddam miraculum novum et a sæculo inauditum. [3] Accidit itaque, quod duo Alemanni, vicini et compatres, consortium inierunt quod simul

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[1] *Saxoniæ*] de Saxonia, B. I.
[2] *in*] per, I.
[3] MS. D. has this paragraph as far as *terrorem*, and then omits down to *egressus*, p. 27.

irent in illa peregrinatione Jerosolimitana, in uno hospitio et una expensa consortes. Cum igitur tempus motionis instaret, unus illorum venit ad domum alterius nocte una hospitaturus, et cum illi ostenderet pecuniam, quam secum in via deferret, paterfamilias consilio uxoris suæ interfecit illum et pecuniam illius cepit; et imponens collo suo cadaver interfecti, profectus est ut illud in aquam projiceret; sed nullo modo potuit illud a se projicere; et in diluculo domum rediens cum cadavere collo suo inhærente per tres dies in absconso latuit; sed cum diutius sustinere hoc non potuit, perrexit ad pontificem suum, ut eum consuleret quid super hoc sibi esset agendum; et præcepit ei pontifex in virtute obedientiæ, ut ipse cadaver illud secum in terram Jerosolimitanam ferret, ut sic expiatis sordibus, redderet animam suam cœlorum sedibus: et sic pœnitentia ductus processit cum aliis peregrinis, portans in collo suo defunctum illum, ad laudem bonorum, et malorum terrorem.

A.D. 1197. Miracle that befell a German crusader.

Eodem anno Henricus Romanorum imperator cepit magnates Siciliæ, ex quibus quosdam incarceravit, quosdam diversis pœnis afflictos morti tradidit; Margaritum etiam admiralem, cui ipse dederat ducatum de Duraz, et principatum de Tarente,[1] et principatum maris, evulsis oculis et abscisis testiculis, excæcari et ementulari fecit.

Henry VI. imprisons the Sicilian nobles and mutilates Margarit.

Constancia vero imperatrix videns mala quæ imperator gesserat, cum gente sua fœdus iniit contra imperatorem maritum suum; et Panormum pergens, cepit thesauros imperatoris, quos reges Siciliæ a multo tempore thesaurizaverant; unde principes regni animosiores effecti injecerunt manus in Alemannos imperatoris, et interfecerunt eos. Imperator vero fugiens inclusit se in munitione forti, volens, si posset, repatriare; sed adversarii ejus ita vias ei præcluserant, quod nusquam securus illi patebat egressus.

The empress Constance conspires against her husband.

Henry is besieged by the Sicilian barons.

[1] *Tarente*] Tharente, I.

A.D. 1197. Saffadin is defeated by the crusaders; Interim Saphadin frater Saladini, post captionem Jopen, magno congregato exercitu paganorum, commisit prælium cum supradictis ducibus et comitibus, et exercitu imperatoris Romanorum, quem ipse in terram Jerosolimitanam miserat; et prævaluit exercitus Christianorum; et ceperunt in prælio illo Christiani duos filios Saladini, et plus quam sexaginta admirales; et Saphadinus frater Saladini lethaliter vulneratus vix evasit. they recover Sidon, Laodicea, and Byblus. Ceperunt etiam Christiani Sidonem civitatem, et Laliche, et magnum Gybel; et erat spes Christianorum quod[1] filius Saladini tenens civitatem Jerosolimæ vellet Christianari; sic enim erat interlocutum per internuncios mediantes.

De captione de Barhud a Christianis.

The Saracens fortify themselves in the castle of Beirout. Interim pagani qui erant in civitate de Barhut,[2] timentes incursum Christianorum, muros civitatis prostraverunt, et traxerunt in castellum victus necessaria, et arma et lapides murorum ad defensionem castelli. Quadam autem die, dum ad hoc perficiendum diligentius instarent, relictis tantummodo in castello quinque captivis Christianis compeditis, et uno solo Saraceno janitore, repente supervenit[3] archiepiscopus Maguntinus, imperatoris Romanorum cancellarius, cum exercitu It is surprised by the crusaders. magno navali; et Aimericus[4] dominus insulæ de Cipre, et præfati duces et principes Alemannorum venerunt cum equestri exercitu et pedestri. Quod videntes Christiani qui erant in castello, cucurrerunt, ut poterant, et clauserunt portas castelli, et janitorem interfecerunt, et ascendentes in altum, clamaverunt alta voce signum Christianorum, videlicet, "Adjuvet nos[5] Chris-

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[1] *quod*] Blank for name in A.

[2] *Barhut*] Baruc, B.; Baruhc, G.; Barruc, D. I. There is a mark of erasure in A., which seems at first to have had *Barhud*.

[3] *supervenit*] Blank for name in A.

[4] *Aimericus*] Aumericus, I.

[5] *nos*] om. I.

"tus Dei Filius, et sanctum sepulcrum Ejus." Ad hanc vocem pagani exterriti fugerunt ad montana, relicto castello et civitate, et victu et armis suis; et Christiani recepti sunt in civitate et castello cum gaudio. Deinde præfatus Maguntinus archiepiscopus, consilio et voluntate principum Alemanniæ, tradidit Aimerico[1] domino Cypri Accon et Tyrum et Barhud,[2] et cæteras civitates quas ceperant; deinde dedit ei Milisent[3] in uxorem, quæ fuerat uxor Henrici comitis de Campania, et coronavit eos in civitate de Barhud;[4] et ipse Aimericus[5] devenit homo Henrici Romanorum imperatoris de insula Cypri.

A.D. 1197. Flight of the Saracens.

Amalric of Cyprus takes charge of Palestine.

De exilio Johannis Dublinensis episcopi.

Eodem anno Hamo de Valoniis,[6] et cæteri custodes Hiberniæ, homines comitis Johannis fratris Ricardi regis Angliæ, injurias magnas fecerunt Johanni Cumin Dublicensi archiepiscopo. Unde idem archiepiscopus, malens exulari, quam enormitates illas sibi et ecclesiæ suæ factas diutius sustinere impunitas, excommunicavit prædictos præsumptores, et interdicti sententiam dedit in archiepiscopatum suum, et abiit; præcepitque cruces et imagines cathedralis ecclesiæ in terram deponi, et spinis circumdari, ut sic malefactores illi terrerentur, et a voluntate sæviendi in bona ecclesiæ revocarentur. Sed dum adhuc in proposito malignandi perseverarent, contigit miraculum nostris temporibus inauditum. Erat siquidem in cathedrali ecclesia de Divelin quædam crux,

The archbishop of Dublin is driven into exile by John's ministers in Ireland.

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[1] *Aimerico*] Aumerico, I.

[2] *Barhud*] Barud, I.

[3] *Milisent*] Milesent, I.; properly *Isabella*.

[4] *Barhud*] Barud, I.

[5] *Aimericus*] Aumericus, I. The sentence is omitted in D.

[6] *Valoniis*] Valoins, B. The exile of the archbishop is made amongst other things the ground of a severe remonstrance addressed by Innocent III. to John, dated Perugia, Sept. 18, 1198. *Epp. Inn. III.*, ed. Baluze, i. 215.

A.D. 1197.
Miracle in the cathedral of Dublin.

in qua imago Christi expressius erat incisa, quam omnes, tam Hybernenses quam cæteri, in maxima veneratione habebant. Cum autem hæc imago Crucifixi esset humi prostrata et spinis circumsepta, feria sexta facta est in agone, et[1] apparuit facies ejus suffusa rubore vehementi, velut esset in camino ardenti; et sudor magnus exivit a facie ejus, et ab oculis ejus cadebant guttæ, ac si fleret:. hora autem diei illius sexta, a dextro illius latere et a dextra illius mamilla exivit sanguis et aqua; quæ ministri ecclesiæ diligenter colligentes, miserunt legationem post Johannem Cumin archiepiscopum suum, mandantes ei hujus rei eventum sub sigillorum venerabilium virorum testimonio, domino papæ insinuandum. Cæteri autem episcopi Hiberniæ, licet sæpius legissent,

The other Irish bishops give way to the officers of John.

"En tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,"

tamen clausis oculis transierunt damna et injurias, quæ ministri præfati Johannis comitis Moretonii coepiscopo suo fecerant, et facti veluti arietes non habentes cornua, cedebant a facie subequentis. Johannes vero Dublinensis episcopus exulans venit ad Ricardum regem Angliæ, et ad Johannem comitem Moretonii fratrem ejus; sed nullam potuit habere justitiam, vel ablatorum restitutionem.

Henricus Romanorum imperator obiit.

Henry VI. sends bishop Savaric to propose a compensation to Richard for his ransom.

Eodem anno Henricus Romanorum imperator, facta reconciliatione cum uxore sua et magnatibus Siciliæ, incepit ægrotare, et misit Savaricum Batoniensem episcopum, consanguineum et cancellarium suum de Burgundia, ad Ricardum regem Angliæ, et obtulit ei recompensationem pecuniæ quam de eo ceperat pro redemptione sua, sive in auro et argento, sive in terris. [2] Dum autem prædictus Savaricus iret in ista legatione,

[1] *facta . . . et*] om. B. D. I.

[2] D. omits all that follows as far as *pontifex*, p. 33.

prædictus Romanorum imperator obiit in Sicilia apud Messanam, in vigilia Sancti Michaelis, excommunicatus a Cœlestino papa propter captionem et redemptionem Ricardi regis Angliæ; et ideo prohibuit idem papa ne corpus illius sepeliretur, licet archiepiscopus Messanæ[1] pro eo multum orasset. Venit itaque præfatus archiepiscopus ad Cœlestinum papam tribus de causis. Prima, ut corpus imperatoris sepeliretur; secunda, ut Marchowaldus, summus imperatoris justitiarius, liberaretur ab obsidione Romanorum, qui eum obsederant in Marchia Guarneri, non permittentes eum inde exire; tertia, ut Fredericus præfati imperatoris filius coronaretur de regno Siciliæ. Ad primam vero petitionem respondit dominus Cœlestinus papa, quod non permitteret corpus imperatoris sepeliri, nisi de consensu regis Angliæ, et nisi pecunia, quam ipse de rege Angliæ ceperat, redderetur. Ad secundam petitionem respondit dominus papa, quod prædictus Marchowaldus per ipsum liberari non poterat,[2] nisi de voluntate Romanorum. Ad tertiam petitionem respondit dominus papa, quod consentiret, si fratribus suis cardinalibus placeret, ut Fredericus præfati imperatoris filius coronaretur de regno Siciliæ. Et factum est ita, datis domino papæ mille marcis argenti ad opus ipsius, et mille marcis argenti ad opus cardinalium. Juravit etiam imperatrix, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis, quod prædictus Fredericus natus fuit de legitimo matrimonio prædicti Henrici imperatoris et ipsius.

A.D. 1197. Sept. 28. Death of the emperor still excommunicate.

Negotiations of the archbishop of Messina with the pope.

The pope consents to the coronation of Frederick as king of Sicily.

Eodem anno Rogerus,[3] frater Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, electus episcopus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, ordinem sacerdotis et pontificalem consecrationem suscepit a Mathæo episcopo de Abberden.

Consecration of the bishop of S. Andrews.

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[1] *archiepiscopus Messanæ*] Berard, archbishop 1196–1233.

[2] *poterat*] potuit, B. I. The word has been omitted and afterwards inserted in the margin, in A.

[3] *Rogerus*] He had been elected to the see of S. Andrews in 1188; and was consecrated on the first Sunday in Lent, 1198. Chr. Mailros.

A.D. 1197. Death of Queen Margaret.

Eodem anno Margareta, quondam regina Angliæ, et postea regina Hungariæ, obiit apud Accon.

The pope recovers great part of Tuscany.

Defuncto itaque Henrico Romanorum imperatore, magna pars Thusciæ, quam idem imperator et prædecessores sui abstulerant Romanis pontificibus, reddita est domino Cœlestino summo pontifici; videlicet Ege-Pendante[1] et Sancta Christina,[2] et Mons-Flascun et Redecok, et Saint Clerc, cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum; redditæque[3] sunt ei Sicilia, Calabria, Apulia, et omnes terræ quæ fuerunt regis Siciliæ, sicut proprium patrimonium Sancti Petri; de quibus ipse, ut supradictum est, constituit Fredericum, Henrici Romanorum imperatoris filium, regem.

Frederick is made king of Sicily.

Pope Celestine, feeling his death approaching, tries to secure the election of John of S. Paul as his successor;

Deinde dominus papa Cœlestinus ante Natale Domini paulatim cœpit ægrotare, et convocatis coram se cardinalibus universis, præcepit ut tractarent de successore suo eligendo. Ipse enim nitebatur modis omnibus, ut dominus Johannes de Sancto Paulo, presbyter cardinalis tituli Sanctæ Priscæ virginis,[4] ei succederet in papatu: de cujus sapientia, sanctitate, et justitia plurimum confidebat. Adeo enim ipsum præ cæteris diligebat, quod illum loco sui constituerat ad omne officium suum exsequendum, nisi in consecratione episcoporum, quod pertinebat ad officium episcopi Hostiensis cardinalis. Præterea præfatus papa obtulit, quod ipse[5] seipsum deponeret a papatu, si cardinales consentirent in electione præfati Johannis de Sancto Paulo. Sed omnes cardinales una voce responderunt, quod illum conditionaliter non eligerent; dicentes, quod inauditum erat quod summus pontifex se deponeret; et sic erat schisma inter illos.[6] Dominus enim Hostiensis[7] episcopus cardinalis nitebatur,

and offers to resign the papacy.

The cardinals refuse the proposal.

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[1] *Ege-Pendante*] Written originally in A. Egke pendante; the *k* is marked for erasure. Eke-pendante, B.

[2] *Christina*] Crispina, Savile.

[3] *que*] om. I.

[4] John of S. Paul, cardinal priest of the title of S. Prisca, from 1193.

[5] *ipse*] om. I.

[6] *illos*] eos, I.

[7] *Hostiensis*] Octavian.

ut ipsemet papa fieret, similiter dominus Portuensis[1] episcopus cardinalis, similiter dominus Jordanus de Fossa Nova, similiter dominus Gratianus,[2] et cæteri omnes nitebantur, unusquisque pro posse suo, ut ipse fieret summus pontifex.

A.D. 1197. Efforts in favour of the bishop of Ostia.

Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum de bono sumens exemplum, fecit homines regni sui jurare quod pacem pro posse suo servabunt,[3] et quod nec latrones, nec robatores, nec utlagi, nec receptatores eorum erunt,[4] nec in aliquo eis consentient,[5] et quod cum hujusmodi malefactores scire poterunt,[6] illos pro posse suo capient et destruent.[7]

The king of Scots makes his people swear to keep the peace.

Hæc est assisa facta per dominum Ricardum regem Angliæ per petitionem et consilium episcoporum et cunctorum baronum suorum, de mensuris per totum regnum Angliæ, in festo Sancti Edmundi apud Westmonasterium; anno viii°. regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.[8]

Nov. 20. Assize of measures.

" Constitutum est quod omnes mensuræ totius Angliæ sint " ejusdem quantitatis, tam de bladis, quam de leguminibus, " et de rebus consimilibus, scilicet, una bona summa equi; " et hæc mensura sit rasa tam in civitatibus et[9] burgis " quam extra. Mensura etiam vini et cervisiæ, et cunctorum " liquorum sit ejusdem quantitatis secundum diversitatem " liquorum. Pondera etiam et libræ et cæteræ pesiæ sint " ejusdem quantitatis[10] in toto regno, secundum diversitatem " mercaturarum. Mensuræ etiam bladorum et liquorum, vini " et cervisiæ, inclaventur in eis claves, ne per dolum possint " falsari. Constitutum est ut lanei panni, ubicunque fiant, fiant

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[1] *Portuensis*] Peter.

[2] Gratian, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian since 1173.

[3] *servabunt*] servarent, Savile.

[4] *erunt*] essent, Savile.

[5] *consentient*] consentirent, Savile.

[6] *poterunt*] potuerint, Savile.

[7] *capient et destruent*] caperent et destruerent, Savile. MS. D. has this paragraph; it is omitted in G. The same is the case with the Assize.

[8] Savile omits rubric.

[9] *et*] quam in, I.

[10] *secundum . . . . quantitatis*] om. I.

A.D. 1197. Nov. 20.
Assize of measures.

"de eadem latitudine, scilicet, de duabus ulnis infra lisuras, "et ejusdem bonitatis in medio et in lateribus. Eadem etiam "ulna sit in toto regno, et ejusdem quantitatis, et ulna sit "ferrea. Prohibitum est omnibus mercatoribus per totum "regnum,[1] ne quis mercator prætendat seldæ suæ rubros pan- "nos vel nigros, vel scuta, vel aliqua alia, per quæ visus "emptorum sæpe decipiuntur ad bonum pannum eligendum. "Prohibitum est etiam, quod nulla tinctura vendenda, nisi "solummodo nigra, fiat alicubi in regno, nisi in civitatibus "aut capitalibus burgis. Constitutum est etiam, ut in sin- "gulis civitatibus aut burgis, quatuor aut sex legales homines "de ipsa villa, secundum quantitatem villæ, similiter in vice- "comitatu, aut cum præpositis civitatis aut burgi, si in "manu vicecomitis non fuerint, assignentur ad assisam cus- "todiendam,[2] sub hac forma; ut ipsi videant, et certi sint, "quod omnia vendantur et emantur per eandem mensuram, et "omnes mensuræ sint ejusdem quantitatis secundum diversi- "tatem mercium. Et si aliquem invenerint, qui confessus "vel convictus fuerit, quod per aliam quam per statutam "mensuram vendiderit, corpus ipsius capiatur, et in prisonem "mittatur,[3] et omnia catalla sua in manu domini regis sai- "siantur, nec deliberentur,[4] nisi per dominum regem aut "capitalem ejus justitiam. De ipsis custodibus statutum est, "quod si ipsi hanc custodiam ita negligenter fecerint, quod "per alios quam per eos attenientur[5] coram justitiis domini "regis, aliquam transcriptam assisam transire, vel de men- "suris victualium vel aliarum mensurarum, vel latitudine pan- "norum, ipsi custodes de catallis suis in misericordia domini "regis remaneant. Præceptum est etiam, ut post festum Puri- "ficationis Sanctæ Mariæ nullus in aliquo comitatu vendat "aliquid nisi per scriptam mensuram, quæ ejusdem sit quan- "titatis; nec post fairam Mediæ Quadragesimæ quæ erit apud "Stanford,[6] vendat aliquem pannum minoris latitudinis quam "duarum ulnarum infra lisuras."[7]

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[1] *regnum*] Angliæ, ins. B.

[2] *sub*] scilicet, B.

[3] *mittatur*] Originally written *mittetur* in A.

[4] *deliberentur*] deliberetur, B. I.

[5] *attenientur*] Corrected in the margin of A. to *convincantur*, which is the reading of B.

[6] *erit*] extat, Savile.

[7] On the spare leaves of MS. A., between this entry and the beginning of the next year, is a copy of a charter of Henry IV. to the city of Carlisle, dated Westminster, March 19, Anno regni secundo.

Nonus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ. A.D. 1197. Dec. 25.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo, qui est annus nonus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, fuit idem rex Ricardus Angliæ in Normannia apud Rothomagum die Natalis Domini, quæ quinta feria evenit. Richard keeps Christmas at Rouen.

Eodem die Natalis Domini Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, et totius Angliæ summus justitiarius, fuit in Gwallia apud Hereford, et recepit in manu sua castellum de Hereford, et castellum de Briges, et castellum de Ludelaue,[1] expulsis inde custodibus qui ea diu custodierant: et tradidit ea aliis custodibus, custodienda ad opus regis. The archbishop at Hereford.

Deinde venit idem archiepiscopus ad Coventre, et per mandatum Cœlestini summi pontificis introduxit monachos in ecclesiam ejusdem villæ cathedralem, quos Hugo de Nunant, ejusdem loci episcopus, ab eadem ecclesia vi et armata manu expulerat, et loco illorum in ea canonicos sæculares instituerat, et eos de bonis ecclesiæ, quæ ad sustentationem monachorum ibidem Deo servientium collata fuerant, præbendaverat; sed canonicis inde expulsis, bona ecclesiæ redierunt in usus monachorum. The archbishop restores the monks of Coventry.

Litteræ apostolicæ pro monachis in Coventrensem ecclesiam restituendis.[2]

" Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis, " archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, episcopo Lincolniensi, et abbati " Sancti Eadmundi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Papal letter.

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[1] *Ludelaue*] Ludelawe, B. G.; Lodelawe, C.; Luddelawe, D. I.

[2] The following letter, like that of Peter of Blois to Hugh of Nunant, vol. iii. pp. 148–150, is not found in MSS. A., C., and G. at all. In MS. B. it appears inserted in the margin in a hand nearly the same as that in which the body of the MS. is written; MSS. D. and I. have the

A.D. 1197. Letter of pope Celestine III. directing the restoration of the monks of Coventry.

"Sicut ea quæ a prædecessoribus nostris provida fuerint "deliberatione statuta, nullatenus irritari volumus vel infringi; "sic quæ per subreptionem ab eis obtenta sunt, in honestatis "ecclesiasticæ detrimentum, corrigi volumus, et in statum "redigi meliorem. Cum enim, sicut accepimus, immo sicut "bene novimus, [in] Coventrensi ecclesia, fere a prima fidei "Christianæ fundatione in Anglia, ordo fuerit monasticus "institutus, et in tantum in ea observantia servierunt regulari "ut ab apostolica sede privilegiari, et ab inclytæ recordationis "regibus Angliæ dotari meruerunt[1] et ditari; dolemus "plurimum, quod venerabilis frater noster Cestrensis episco-"pus, occasione quarundam litterarum, quas a bonæ memoriæ "Papa Clemente, prædecessore nostro, ad falsam suggestionem, "sine conscientia nostra et fratrum nostrorum, sicut dicitur, "et quod[2] vix credere possumus, impetravit, dilectos filios, "priorem et conventum, de eodem monasterio violenter "ejecit, et canonicos in eo instituit sæculares. Cum igitur "id in monasticæ religionis, et totius ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ "redundet opprobrium; nec nostræ intentionis sit, quod "prædictus prædecessor noster tantæ irregularitati, nisi "circumventus, auctoritatem præstiterit aut favorem; frater-"nitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in virtute "obedientiæ districte præcipimus, quatenus prædictis litteris, "vel aliis privilegiis confirmationis vel indulgentiæ nequa-"quam obstantibus, amotis ad eodem monasterio sæcularibus "clericis, qui in eo fuerunt per supradictum episcopum "instituti, sine alicujus quæstionis impedimento monasticum "ibidem ordinem reformetis, monachos ejectos exinde re-"deuntes in illud, et tales in eo instituentes personas, qui[3] "Beati Benedicti regulam observare debeant et desiderent. "Memoratum vero episcopum, et universos detentores "bonorum ejusdem ecclesiæ, ad eorum restitutionem per "censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compellatis. "Volumus etiam nihilominus, et mandamus, ut donationes "ejusdem episcopi, infeudationes, locationes, et alienationes "possessionum ejusdem ecclesiæ ab eo tempore factas, nostra

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letter incorporated in the text. It occurs in the Annals of Burton, which are, in this portion of them, entirely drawn from Hoveden, and must have been in the copy from which the rest of the extracts were made. The copy in the Monasticon is taken directly from the Annals of Burton. The same letter is found in the register of Innocent III. as issued by him, with the date, 3 non. Junii 1198. (*Epp. Innoc. III.*, ed. Baluze, i. 129.)

[1] *meruerunt*] meruerint, Savile.

[2] *quod*] om. I.

[3] *qui*] quæ, Savile.

"freti auctoritate cassetis; eos qui contra venire præsumpserunt, sublato appellationis obstaculo, censura canonica percellentes; illos qui manus violentas in prædictos monachos injecerunt, denuncietis excommunicatos, et cum litterarum vestrarum testimonio veniant ad sedem apostolicam absolvendi. Datum &c." A.D. 1197.

A.D. 1198. Richard is summoned to Cologne to elect an emperor on the 22nd of February.

Infra[1] Natale Domini venerunt Rothomagum nuncii archiepiscopi Coloniæ,[2] et nuncii archiepiscopi Maguntini,[3] et nuncii[4] aliorum magnatum Alemanniæ, ad Ricardum regem Angliæ, dicentes ei ex parte prædictorum virorum, quod omnes magnates Alemanniæ convenirent apud Coloniam octavo kalendas Martii, ad eligendum imperatorem; et præceperunt ei in vi sacramenti et fidei, quibus astringebatur imperatori et imperio Romano, quod omni contradictione et occasione remota, veniret Coloniam ad prænominatum terminum, ut ipse, sicut præcipuum membrum imperii, esset simul cum illis ad eligendum imperio idoneum, Deo auxiliante, imperatorem. Quibus auditis Ricardus rex Angliæ, habito cum suis consilio, misit cum prædictis nunciis Alemannorum Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum, et Eustachium Eliensem electum, et Willelmum de Chimeli Andegavensem electum, et[5] Ebroicensem electum; et Baldewinum de Betun comitem Albemarliæ, et Willelmum de Pratellis, et Willelmum de Lestang,[6] et Bricium Camerarium, ut ipsi interessent electioni imperatoris loco ipsius. Ipse

He sends representatives to the election.

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[1] *Infra*] Eodem anno infra, I. MS. D. omits all as far as "campanis," p. 40.

[2] Adolf of Altena, 1193–1205.

[3] *Maguntini*] Conrad of Wittelsbach, 1183–1200.

[4] *nuncii*] om. B. I.

[5] *et*] Blank in A. for the name of the elect of Evreux; Guarin de Cierrey, bishop, 1195–1201. It is not clear why he is here called *electus;* as he appears to sign charters of 1195 as bishop. The editors of the *Gallia Christiana* say, "Nescio cur annis, 1195, 1197, "1198, Guarinus dicatur electus." Mr. Stapleton (Norman Rolls, II. lxiv.) suggests that the elect of *Avranches*, William Ptholomeus, is meant in this place.

[6] *de Lestang*] del Estang, B. I.

A.D. 1198. Richard tries to obtain the election of the duke of Saxony; and, as he is absent, that of his brother Otho.

enim timebat plurimum illuc ire, et iterum incidere in manus eorum, nisi securitas daretur ei de salvo conductu eundi et redeundi. Nec mirum; ipse enim, quæ promiserat magnatibus terræ se daturum pro deliberatione sua, non solverat, et quia corpus imperatoris propter eum inhumatum erat. Ipse vero rex Angliæ modis omnibus nitebatur efficere, quod Henricus dux Saxoniæ, nepos ejus, fieret imperator. Sed quia ipse nondum de peregrinatione sua redierat, et mora ad se periculum trahebat, præfatus rex Angliæ effecit adversus archiepiscopos Coloniensem et Maguntinum, et adversus quosdam aliorum magnatum Alemanniæ, quod ipsi elegerunt [1] Othonem nepotem suum, fratrem prædicti Henrici ducis Saxoniæ, in imperatorem.

Est autem sciendum, quod in electione Romanorum imperatoris taliter procedendum est;

Qualiter procedendum est in electione Romanorum imperatoris.

Mode of electing an emperor.

Defuncto itaque imperatore, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, duces, comites, et omnes cæteri magnates Alemanniæ in unum convenientes, debent duodecim viros eligere communiter, et eos præsentare archiepiscopo Coloniensi,[2] et archiepiscopo Maguntino, et duci de Saxonia, et comiti Palatino de Reno; et quemcunque illi quatuor elegerint de prædictis duodecim electis erit rex Alemannorum, et coronabitur apud Hays capellam, ubi Karolus Magnus sepultus requiescit.

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[1] *elegerunt*] om. I.

[2] *Coloniensi*] Coloniæ, I.

De coronatione Othonis regis Alemannorum. A.D. 1198.

Factum est autem quod cum præfatus Otho esset unus de prædictis duodecim communiter electis, ad instantiam precum et servitii Ricardi regis Angliæ, receptus est ab archiepiscopis Coloniensi et Maguntino, et ab eisdem coronatus est in regem Alemannorum apud Hays capellam, præsentibus ducibus de Lamburc et de Luvain, et aliis ducibus multis, et episcopis multis, et præsentibus Baldewino[1] comite Flandriæ, et Henrico comite de Namur[2] fratre ejus, et aliis comitibus multis. Prædictus autem Otho duxit sibi in uxorem filiam ducis de Luvain, quæ die coronationis prædicti Othonis sedit simul cum eo in cathedra regali, sed non tunc coronata. Henricus vero dux Saxoniæ, comes etiam Palatinus de Reno, frater prædicti Othonis, post reditum suum de terra Suliæ, ratum et gratum habens quod de fratre suo factum fuerat, electionem suam confirmavit. Cum autem Philippus dux Suaviæ,[3] filius Frederici quondam Romanorum imperatoris, frater quoque Henrici Romanorum imperatoris proximo defuncti, esset unus de supradictis duodecim electis, noluit electioni suæ cedere, sed Othonem modis omnibus, quibus potuit, impugnavit; et quamvis Otho illum sæpius in bello campestri expugnasset, tamen ab inceptis desistere noluit.

Election of Otho, the king's nephew as emperor.

His coronation.

Opposition of Philip of Swabia.

Eodem anno Aimericus, Dunelmensis archidiaconus, dissaisivit monachos Dunelmensis ecclesiæ de villa quæ dicitur Hersewelle, quam Henricus de Puteaco eis

The archdeacon of Durham seizes Hersewell.

[1] *Baldewino*] Baldwin IX., 1194–1206 : afterwards emperor of Constantinople.

[2] *Henrico comite de Namur*] The count of Namur who was brother to Baldwin IX. was Philip, not Henry; but the succession was just now in dispute, and it is uncertain whether the person referred to was Philip or his younger brother Henry, who was afterwards emperor of Constantinople. It will be seen further on that Hoveden's memory was very treacherous with regard to this family; as he confounds Philip of Namur not only with Henry, but with Baldwin. The day of Otho's coronation was July 4, 1198.

[3] *Suaviæ*] Swaviæ, B. I.

A.D. 1198. The monks of Finchale ejected from Hersewell.

dederat in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, ad sustentationem monachorum in Finchale[1] Deo servientium. Servientes vero, qui missi fuerant ad præfatam dissaisinam faciendam, fregerunt ostia domorum monachorum, et monachos ibi inventos violenter ejecerunt. Cum autem idem Aimericus, interrogatus si violentia illa per illum facta fuisset, respondisset, "Non," monachi Dunelmenses, convocatis in ecclesia beati Cuthberti clero et populo civitatis, excommunicaverunt omnes hujus violentiæ auctores, consiliarios, fautores, accensis candelis, et pulsatis majoribus ecclesiæ campanis.

The aggressors excommunicated.

Richard asks the English to maintain a force of 300 knights in foreign service.

[2] Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ petiit, per Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, ut homines regni Angliæ invenirent ei trecentos milites uno anno moraturos secum in servitio suo, vel tantam pecuniam ei darent, unde ipse posset per unum annum[3] trecentos milites in servitio suo retinere, videlicet unicuique militi tres solidos Anglicanæ monetæ de liberatione in die; ad quod faciendum cum cæteri omnes proni essent, non audentes resistere voluntati regis; solus Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, verus Dei cultor, abstinens se ab omni opere pravo, respondit pro se, quod ipse in hoc voluntati regis nequaquam adquiesceret, tum quia processu temporis in ecclesiæ suæ detrimentum redundaret, tum quia successores sui dicerent, "Patres nostri "comederunt uvam acerbam, et dentes filiorum obstu-"pescunt." Et conversus ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, admonet instanter

Opposition of Hugh of Lincoln.

" . . . . ut nil agat unde pudendum;
" Unde pudor frontem signet, mentemque reatus
" Torqueat,[4] aut famæ titulos infamia lædat."

Queen Eleanor

Eodem anno Alienor regina, mater Ricardi regis Angliæ, venit Rothomagum, et misit pro Hugone filio Ernisii de Nefvilla,[5] et pro aliis custodibus, qui custo-

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[1] *Finchale*] Finkeale, G.
[2] Here MS. D. resumes.
[3] *annum*] interlined in A.
[4] *Torqueat*] om. I.
[5] *Nefvilla*] Nevilla, B.

diebant in turre Rothomagensi Philippum Belvacensem episcopum, et precata est eos, ut pro amore ipsius permitterent præfatum episcopum venire ad hospitium suum, loqui cum ea; qui, licet hoc eis esset periculosum, tamen petitioni reginæ resistere nolentes, permiserunt præfatum episcopum compeditum portas turris egredi, et ipsi comitabantur eum. Dum autem irent, contigit eos transitum facere per atrium cujusdam ecclesiæ; ad cujus ostium, licet esset clausum, præfatus episcopus, ut potuit, cucurrit, et arrepto ecclesiæ annulo, alta voce exclamavit, dicens, "Peto pacem Dei "et ecclesiæ." Ad hanc igitur vocem custodes sui plurimum conturbati, injecerunt in eum[1] manus, et traxerunt eum ab ostio ecclesiæ, et reduxerunt eum in turrim unde exierat, et arctius[2] custodierunt, imponentes reginæ, hoc factum fuisse per consilium ipsius. Quo audito, rex Angliæ misit præfatum episcopum ad Chinun, sub arctiori custodia custodiendum.

A.D. 1198. begs for an interview with the bishop of Beauvais.

He attempts to escape, and is recaptured, and imprisoned at Chinon.

Eodem anno Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit Lundoniis Eustachium Eliensem episcopum, Dominica qua cantatur "Lætare Jerusalem," apud Westmonasterium, octavo idus Martii.

Eustace bishop of Ely consecrated Mar. 8.

De obitu Cœlestini papæ.

Eodem anno Cœlestinus papa, senio et gravi morbo laborans, obiit Romæ mense Januarii, vi^{to}. idus ejusdem mensis, feria sexta, septimo anno papatus sui, et Laterani sepultus est. In crastino autem obitus illius convenientes in unum cardinales elegerunt in summum pontificem Lotharium diaconum cardinalem, juvenem triginta annorum, vel paulo amplius; qui vocatus est papa[3] Innocentius. Ipse vero statim post electionem

Jan. 8. Celestine III. dies.

Election of Innocent III.

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[1] *in eum*] ei, Savile.
[2] *arctius*] acrius, T.
[3] *papa*] om. I.

A.D. 1198. January.

suam in hac forma scripsit universis archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ et Scotiæ;

Epistola Innocentii papæ ad archiepiscopos et episcopos Angliæ et Scotiæ de electione sua.[1]

Jan. 9. Letter of Innocent III. announcing his elevation to the papacy.

" Innocentius, apostolicæ sedis electus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, universis archiepiscopis et episcopis per Angliam et Scotiam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ineffabilis sapientia Deitatis sic omnia quæ[2] alto consilio simul ab æterno prævidit, per labentium temporum vices mirabili quadam dispositione dispensat, ut nec error in ordine, nec in opere sit defectus, cum, Divina scriptura testante, cuncta fecerit in pondere, numero et mensura. (Wisd. xi. 21.) Licet ergo nihil in terra sine certa causa propriaque ratione disponat, imperfectum tamen conditionis humanæ non solum in causis operum deficit perscrutandis, verum etiam in ipsis causarum operibus vix sufficit admirari. Quod utique considerans apostolus, exclamabat, 'O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei! (Rom. xi. 33.) 'quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia Ejus, et investigabiles 'viæ Ejus!' Quamvis enim, 'Universæ viæ Domini misericordia et veritas, et omnia opera Ejus judicia sunt,' (Ps. xxv. 9. Deut. xxxii. 4.) testante propheta, usque adeo tamen successus hominum, et humiliationem et exaltationem eorum dextera Domini, licet justa, occulta tamen ratione procurat, ut causa nobis non modici stuporis existat, quod in regimine potestatis juniores quandoque senioribus anteponit; ut juxta prophetam, 'Filii nascantur pro patribus,' qui super omnem terram (Ps. xlv. 17.) constituti, Dominici nominis recordentur; sicut de nobis ipsis, 'a Domino factum est, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.' (Ps. cxviii. 23.) Sane felicis memoriæ Cœlestino, patre ac prædecessore nostro, sexto idus Januarii viam universæ carnis ingresso, et in Lateranensi basilica, sicut moris est, honorifice tumulato; fratres nostri, videlicet episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi cardinales, et nos ipsi cum eis, simul in unum secessimus;[3] ut tanto licentius et tutius de substitutione pontificis tractaremus, quanto tractatus ipse majorem deliberandi copiam

[1] This letter is given in the *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, p. 385. It is the first of the letters of Innocent III. in the edition of Baluze, Paris, 1682.

[2] *omnia quæ*] omnia cum, Savile.

[3] *secessimus*] successimus, Savile.

A.D. 1198. Jan. 9. He excuses his youth.

"et amplioris circumspectionis consilium requirebat. Cumque "missarum solemnibus in honore Sancti Spiritus celebratis, "requisitæ fuissent omnium voluntates, ad insufficientiam "nostram oculos extenderunt, humano forsitan existimantes "arbitrio, in sacculo Benjamin ciphum argenteum invenire; "licet plures ex ipsis ætatis, ordinis, et meriti ratione potu-"issent ad apicem tantæ dignitatis dignius evocari. Cujus "siquidem dignitatis onus cum insufficientia nostra penitus "recusaret, utpote nostris debilibus humeris importabile; sub "Illius tamen confidentia et exemplo, Qui infirmitatem Beati "Petri tertia prius negatione probatam, post trinæ confessionis "vocem, in gubernationem Suarum ovium confirmavit; quod "personæ nostræ multiplex imperfectio denegabat, in Ipsius "contulimus voluntatem, fratrum nostrorum acquiescentes in-"stantiæ, ne reluctatio diuturna discidii pareret detrimentum, "aut dispositioni Divinæ videretur aliquatenus obviare; spe-"rantes quod Ipse, 'Qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non im-"'properat,' Qui novissimum fratrum, virum itaque secundum "cor Suum, in regem de post fœtantes assumpsit,[1] de lapidi-"bus suscitabit filium Abrahæ, vocans ea quæ non sunt tan-"quam ea quæ sunt; ut infirma eligens quæque fortiora "confundat. Nos igitur[2] ecclesiasticæ provisionis sollicitudi-"nem assumentes, et non modicum confidentes de vobis quos[3] "Dominus nobis, ad tantæ difficultatis onus levius perferen-"dum, sollicitudinis nostræ voluit esse participes; universi-"tatem vestram rogamus, monemus, et exhortamur in Domino, "quatenus insufficientiam nostram vestris orationibus apud "Dominum adjuvetis, et circa commissam nobis et vobis Do-"minici gregis custodiam diligenter et utiliter vigilantes, "defectum nostrum supplere velitis, et injunctam nobis eccle-"siastici oneris gravitatem vigilanti studio comportare. Nos "enim vos, tanquam specialia membra ecclesiæ, honorare "intendimus, et in necessitatibus vestris, quantum Dominus "permiserit, adjuvare. Datum Laterani, quinto idus Ja-"nuarii."

Gen. xliv. 2. S. James i. 5. 1 Sam. xiii. 14. Ps. lxxviii. 72. S. Matt. iii. 9. 1 Cor. i. 27.

He desires the prayers of the bishops.

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[1] *assumpsit*] accepit, B. D.

[2] *Nos igitur*] The conclusion of the letter is different in the copy given in the *Epp. Cantuar.*, which is addressed to the monastic orders.

[3] *quos*] altered to *quod* in A.

A.D. 1198. January.

De Innocentio Romanæ ecclesiæ electo.

Innocent III. begins to reform the court of Rome.

Electo itaque in Romanum pontificem præfato Innocentio, ipse statim post electionem suam, utpote qui ab infantia omnes curiæ Romanæ excessus noverat, statum curiæ in melius mutare cupiens, majorem partem janitorum et ostiariorum curiæ abjecit, ut conquerentes, tam clerici quam laici, liberiores ad eum veniendi haberent accessus.

March 11. Death of the Countess of Champagne.

[1] Eodem anno, quinto idus Martii, obiit Maria comitissa Campaniæ, mater comitis Henrici de Campania, qui fuit dominus Accaron. Hæc eadem comitissa fuit soror Philippi regis Franciæ ex parte patris, et soror Ricardi regis Angliæ ex parte matris.

Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus venit ad Ricardum regem in spe pacis faciendæ, sed non perfecit.

Archbishop Geoffrey visits the king in Normandy, and makes his peace.

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus venit in Normanniam per mandatum Ricardi regis Angliæ fratris sui, in spe pacis faciendæ cum rege. Rex namque misit pro decano et canonicis Eboraci, ut venirent ad eum in Normanniam, volens pacem facere inter archiepiscopum et illos; sed archiepiscopus ille, antequam canonici venirent, fecit pacem cum rege fratre suo; ita quod rex concessit illi plenariam archiepiscopatus sui restitutionem, et præcepit Roberto capellano suo transfretare in Angliam, una cum magistro Honorio clerico et officiali prædicti archiepiscopi Eboraci, ad interesse prædictæ restitutioni. Archiepiscopus autem ille dedit magistro Honorio archidiaconatum de Richemund. Promiserat enim rex archiepiscopo, quod de cætero non impediret donationes suas. Et quia decanus et canonici Eboraci ad terminum statutum non venerunt coram rege, nec sufficientem pro eis miserunt

The dean and canons of York arrive after this,

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[1] MS. D. omits all from this point to "pacem illam," p. 45.

responsalem, archiepiscopus, accepta a rege licentia, a curia recessit, Romam iturus tam pro negotiis regis quam pro suis. Tertia vero die sequenti, venerunt ad regem decanus et canonici Eboracenses, et fecerunt adversus eum, quod restitutio, quam ipse fieri præceperat archiepiscopo, dilationem caperet usque ad reditum archiepiscopi; et sic impedito archiepiscopi negotio, decanus et canonici Eboracum redierunt, plurimum jactantes de familiaritate regis, dicentes se habere cartam regis, quod rex non componeret ad plenum cum archiepiscopo, nisi ipsi fuerint infra pacem illam.

A.D. 1198. and disturb the arrangement.

They return in triumph to York.

De consecratione Innocentii papæ.

Eodem anno, Dominica prima Quadragesimæ, Innocentius, Romanæ sedis electus episcopus, consecratus est Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum in Romanum pontificem, ab Octoviano[1] Hostiensi episcopo, xvto. kalendas Martii; et statim post consecrationem illius, præfectus et senatores, et tribuni urbis, et cæteri Romani, exegerunt ab eo reditus et consuetudines, quas prædecessores sui Romani pontifices eis impendere solebant: quibus ipse respondit, se hoc nunquam facturum, quoniam si fecisset, contra Deum et in præjudicium Romanæ ecclesiæ faceret. Quod Romani audientes, irruerunt in bona ipsius, et diripuerunt ea, et ipse excommunicavit eos.

Feb. 15. Consecration of Innocent III.

He quarrels with the Romans.

Eodem anno, mense Martio, Hugo de Nunnant,[2] Coventrensis episcopus, obiit in Normannia apud Bec Herleuin,[3] die Parasceues Domini, sexto kalendas Aprilis, et ibidem in cœnobio monachorum sepultus est: cui successit in episcopatu Coventrensi Gaufridus de Muschamp, archidiaconus de Cliveland, dono Ricardi regis Angliæ, et consecratus est Cantuariæ ab Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

Hugh of Nunnant dies Mar. 27.

Geoffrey de Muschamp bishop of Coventry.

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[1] *Octoviano*] Octaviano, I.
[2] *Nunnant*] Nunant, B. G. I.
[3] *Bec Herleuin*] Becherlewin, B. D. I.

A.D. 1198. March 29. Richard keeps Easter at Le Mans.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, et comes de Sancto Egidio, et Johanna uxor ejus, quondam regina Siciliæ, fuerunt Cenomannis in solemnitate Paschali, quæ quarto kalendas Aprilis evenit.[1]

Richard exacts a carucage of five shillings on the carucate.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ cepit, de unaquaque carucata terræ sive hyda totius Angliæ, quinque solidos de auxilio; ad quos colligendos misit idem rex per singulos comitatus Angliæ[2] unum clericum et unum[3] militem; qui, cum vicecomite comitatus ad quem mittebantur, et legalibus militibus ad hoc electis, præstito juramento quod fideliter exsequerentur negotium regis, fecerunt venire coram se senescallos baronum illius comitatus, et de qualibet villa dominum vel ballivum villæ et præpositum cum quatuor legalibus hominibus villæ, sive liberis sive rusticis, et duos milites legaliores de hundredo, qui juraverunt quod fideliter et sine fraude dicerent, quot carucarum wannagia[4] fuerint in singulis villis; quot scilicet in dominico, quot in vilenagia, quot in eleemosynis viris religiosis collatis, quas ipsi donatores vel eorum hæredes tenentur warentizare vel adquietare, vel unde viri religiosi debent servitium facere; et super singula carucarum wannagia ponebant ex præcepto regis primo duos solidos et postea tres solidos: et hæc omnia in scriptum redigebantur; et habebat inde clericus rotulum unum, et miles rotulum alterum, vicecomes rotulum tertium, senescallus baronum rotulum quartum de terra domini sui. Hæc pecunia recipiebatur per manus duorum legalium militum de singulis hundredis et per manum ballivi de hundredo; et ipsi inde responderunt vicecomiti, et per prædictos rotulos respondebat vicecomes inde ad scaccarium coram episcopis, abbatibus, et baronibus ad hoc assignatis. Ad pœnam vero jura-

Method of assessment; and collection.

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[1] *Eodem . . . evenit*] om. D. G.
[2] *Angliæ*] om. B. I.
[3] *etiam*] unum, I.
[4] *wannagia*] altered in A. to *wainagia*; D. has wanagia.

torum, qui aliquid contra juramentum suum celaverint in hoc negotio, statutum erat,[1] quod quicunque rusticus convictus fuisset de perjurio, daret domino meliorem bovem de caruca sua, et insuper responderet de proprio, ad opus domini regis, tantum pecuniæ quantum fuisset declaratum per suum perjurium fuisse[2] celatum: si vero liber homo convictus fuisset, esset in misericordia regis, et insuper refunderet de proprio, ad opus domini regis, quantum fuerit per eum celatum, sicut et rusticus. Statutum etiam fuit, quod quilibet baro cum vicecomite faceret districtiones super homines suos; et si per defectum baronum districtiones factæ non fuissent, caperetur de dominico baronum, quod super homines suos restaret reddendum, et ipsi barones ad homines suos inde caperent: et libera feoda ecclesiarum parochialium de hoc tallagio excipiebantur; et omnes excaetæ baronum, quæ fuerunt in manu domini regis, communicaverunt. Serganteriæ vero domini regis, quæ non erant de feodis militum, excipiebantur; sed tamen imbreviabantur et numerus carucatarum terræ, et valentiæ terrarum, et nomina servientum; et omnes servientes illi summonebantur esse apud Lundonias in octavis clausi Pentecostes, audituri et facturi præceptum domini regis. Ipsi vero qui electi fuerant et constituti ad hoc negotium regis faciendum, statuerunt, per æstimationem legalium hominum, ad uniuscujusque carucæ wanagium[3] centum acras terræ.

A.D. 1198. Punishment of all attempts to evade the tax.

Exemptions.

The collectors summoned to London for May 31.

Eodem anno monachi Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ, Romam profecti, conquesti sunt Innocentio papæ, quod Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, contra ordinem et dignitatem suam, gerebat se justitiarium regni, et judicem sanguinis, et ita sæcularibus negotiis implicitum,

The monks of Canterbury complain of the archbishop to the pope.

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[1] *erat*] est, I.
[2] *fuisse*] fuisset, A. B.
[3] *wanagium*] corrected in A. to wainagium in an early hand; wainagium, B. I.

A.D. 1198. quod minime sufficere possit ecclesiasticis causis regendis, cum a sapiente dictum sit:

"Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus."

Charges of the monks against archbishop Hubert.

Accusabant etiam eum dicentes, quod ex præcepto illius violata fuit pax ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ del Arche Londoniis, et Willelmus cum Barba inde violenter extractus, et caudis equorum alligatus, et ad patibulum tractus cum novem de suis, similiter ab ecclesia illa violenter extractis, morti addictus est, et in patibulo suspensus: unde dominus papa paterna exhortatione diligenter monuit dominum Ricardum regem Angliæ, ut pro salute animæ suæ non permitteret præfatum archiepiscopum diutius fungi administratione sæculari, neque de cætero ipsum, vel alium episcopum sive sacerdotem, in administratione sæculari admitteret; præcepit etiam in virtute obedientiæ universis ecclesiarum prælatis, ne ipsi ausu temerario sæculares administrationes susciperent. Et sic Cantuariensi archiepiscopo a regimine regni deposito,[1] Gaufridus filius Petri successit ei in regimine regni. Accusabant etiam eum dicentes, quod ipse in præjudicium matricis[2] ecclesiæ Cantuariæ capellam novam construxerat apud Lamee,[3] et in ea canonicos sæculares, de bonis et redditibus monachorum Cantuariensium ditatos, constituerat, et in ea, contra consuetudinem et dignitatem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ episcopos consecraverat: et nisi celerius remedium adhiberetur, timuerunt quod dignitas Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minueretur, et ad capellam illam apostatricem transferri videretur. Unde dominus papa plurimum commotus, in hac forma scripsit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo;

The pope desires the king to dismiss him from the office of justiciar.

Geoffrey Fitz-Peter succeeds him.

The complaint about the church at Lambeth.

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[1] *deposito*] The letter of Richard announcing Hubert's resignation and the appointment of Geoffrey fitzPeter is printed in the *Fœdera*, i. 71, from the Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. 14. It is dated "apud Bellum "Castrum de Rupe, xi. die Julii."

[2] *matricis*] matris, Savile.

[3] *Lamee*] Altered in a late hand to Lamhee, A.; Lamhee, B. D. I.

Epistola Innocentii papæ ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, de prostratione capellæ de Lamee.[1]

A.D. 1198. May 8.

The Pope reminds the Archbishop of the decisions of his predecessors against the erection of the church at Lambeth.

" Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto fratri " Huberto, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam " benedictionem. Quanto personam tuam sinceriori caritate " diligimus, tanto majori dolore turbamur quotiens ea de tuis " audimus operibus quæ pontificali derogant honestati. Cum " enim Cantuariensis ecclesia, cui præesse dinosceris, inter " Anglicanas ecclesias celebris habeatur, et religione inter " alias consueverit florere; nos et fratres nostri grave ge- " rimus, et molestum, quod, sicut dilecti filii nostri, prior et " conventus, humili conquestione monstraverunt, tu ad ipsius " desolationem ecclesiæ satagis multipliciter, et laboras in " constructionem capellæ de Lamee, contra prohibitiones fe- " licis memoriæ Urbani et Clementis, Romanorum pontificum, " bonæ memoriæ Baldewino prædecessori tuo factas, post " appellationes multiplices ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, " in magnum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis præjudicium, propria " temeritate processeris, et de bonis ejusdem ecclesiæ cano- " nicos[2] instituens in eadem:[3] a cujus siquidem constructione " capellæ, si eam quam debes Romanæ ecclesiæ reverentiam " et obedientiam exhiberes, et commissæ tibi ecclesiæ pro- " visionem et sollicitudinem quæreres et gereres, quam " teneris; tibi et honori tuo melius consulens, penitus desti- " tisses, nec super eo procedere studuisses, quod prædecessori " tuo sic districte cognosceres a sede Apostolica fuisse inter- " dictum. Cum igitur diminutionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, " sicut nec debemus, nec volumus aliquatenus sustinere, " prædictorum prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, " de fratrum nostrorum consilio, fraternitati tuæ per aposto- " lica scripta mandamus, et districte præcipimus, quatenus, " omni mora et occasione postpositis, si etiam ab ecclesia tua " absens fueris, aliquatenus non obstante, quicquid post " appellationes, tam tempore prædecessoris tui quam tuo, ad " sedem apostolicam interpositas, vel inhibitiones anteces-

[1] This letter occurs in Gervase, 1602: among the *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, p. 391: and in Baluzes edition, lib. i. ep. 111. It was presented at Lambeth, June 7; and delivered to the archbishop on the 9th.

[2] *canonicos*] canonichos, A.

[3] *eadem*] ea, B.

A.D. 1198. May 8.

He orders the destruction of the church, the dissolution of the new foundation, and the annulment of all acts in its favour.

"sorum nostrorum in opere actum capellæ noscitur memoratæ, infra triginta dies post susceptionem præsentium, tuis expensis non differas demoliri, in irritum prorsus revocans et deducens quicquid de instituendis canonicis et aliis circa capellam prædictam factum est, vel enormiter innovatum. Clericos præterea, qui in capella illa post inhibitiones apostolicas Divina officia celebrarunt, tamdiu ab officio et beneficio teneas pro suspensis, donec super hoc satisfecerint competenter, universis operibus demolitis quæ apud eandem capellam facere præsumpserunt; et universa quæ post appellationes in eorum sunt attentata gravamina, exeniorum,[1] videlicet, et ecclesiarum, et aliorum invasione, quæ ante appellationem habuerunt, in statum pristinum, appellatione remota, deducas; sententias excommunicationis vel interdicti, quas in quosdam ipsorum fratrum temere diceris promulgasse, publice nuncies non tenere; ac de cætero circa statum ipsius monasterii, contra prohibitionem nostram, hujus occasione negotii non præsumas aliquid innovare; illicitos invasores villarum, possessionum, redituum prædictorum fratrum, usque ad satisfactionem idoneam vinculo anathematis astringas. Si vero, quod non credimus, mandatum nostrum infra statutum terminum neglexeris, vel distuleris adimplere, quia justum est ut ei obedientia subtrahatur, qui sedi apostolicæ negligit obedire, venerabilibus fratribus nostris suffraganeis tuis per scripta nostra mandamus, quatenus tibi obedientiam et reverentiam non impendant. Quod si forte ab eis, vel[2] aliquo eorum, contra prohibitionem nostram tibi feceris aliquam obedientiam et reverentiam exhiberi, scias te ex tunc ab episcopali dignitate suspensum, et tamdiu ipsi sententiæ subjacere, donec, satisfacturus de contemptu, nostro te conspectui repræsentes: non autem distinguimus utrum in loco a prædecessoribus nostris interdicto, vel alio, in prædictæ capellæ constructione, et canonicorum institutione processeris, in ecclesiæ Cantuariensis præjudicium et gravamen, eadem contradictionis causa durante; nisi quod ex hoc magis credimus eidem ecclesiæ derogari, quod in remotiori loco fabrica illa est translata. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, viii°. idus Maii,[3] pontificatus nostri anno primo."

He threatens suspension in case of disobedience.

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[1] *exeniorum*] exteriorum, A.

[2] *vel*] ab, ins. D. I.

[3] *viii. Idus Maii*] The date is in the copy given in the *Epp. Cantuar.* "viii. kalendas Maii," with which Gervase agrees, and the edition of Baluze, vol. i. p. 63.

De subversione capellæ de Lame.

A.D. 1198. May.

The Pope orders the bishops to enforce the destruction of the new church.

Præterea idem papa Innocentius significavit per litteras [1] suas universis suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quod ipse in mandatis dederat Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, quod infra triginta dies post litterarum suarum susceptionem suis propriis expensis non differret demoliri capellam de Lamee, et in irritum revocare quicquid de instituendis canonicis et aliis circa prædictam capellam factum est, et cætera, quæ in litteris suis continentur; præcepitque prædictis suffraganeis, quod si archiepiscopus suus Cantuariensi ecclesiæ quicquam illorum, quæ in litteris suis continentur, facere differret, illi ei de cætero nullam impendant obedientiam vel reverentiam. Sed præfatus archiepiscopus regio munimine septus, sperans se ab adversariis non posse superari, universos monachorum redditus, et oblationes tumbæ beati martyris Tomæ, fecit saisiri in manu regis, et mandata summi pontificis parvi pendens, non permisit monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis septa templi exire. Tandem [2] tamen, consilio suorum, demolitus est capellam de Lamee propriis sumptibus.

The Archbishop resists for a time, but finally submits and destroys the church.

De controversia inter Gaufridum, archiepiscopum Eboraci, et canonicos suos.

The Archbishop of York meets his enemies in the king's presence at Andely.

Eodem anno Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo et Simone decano, una cum canonicis Eboraci in præsentia domini Ricardi regis Angliæ in Normannia apud Andeli constitutis, unusquisque proponebat injurias sibi hinc et inde illatas; et cum de voluntate regis processisset ut idem archiepiscopus et decanus et canonici Ebora-

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[1] *litteras*] This letter is given in the *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 393.

[2] *Tandem*] Not however before Jan. 27, 1199. Gervase, 1623. The documents referred to by Hoveden in the text will be all found among the *Epistolæ Cantuarienses.*

A.D. 1198.

The canons refuse to submit to arbitration.

censes se subjicerent de supradictis controversiis examini domini Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et dominorum Wintoniensis[1] et Wigornensis[2] episcoporum; et cum præfatus Eboracensis archiepiscopus in hoc voluntati regis consentiret; decanus et canonici Eboracenses responderunt, quod non ponerent se in judicio alicujus, nisi in judicio canonicorum sæcularium, et effecerunt adversus regem quod pax illa dilationem cepit, maxime quia archiepiscopus confirmare noluit donationes quas rex eis fecerat in Eboracensi ecclesia. Unde rex iratus dedit Rogero de Sancto Edmundo, clerico suo, archidiaconatum de Richemund, quem Eboracensis archiepiscopus dederat magistro Honorio clerico suo; qui quamvis fidelitates clericorum prædicti archidiaconatus recepisset per mandatum archiepiscopi, et quamvis idem archiepiscopus litteris suis mandasset generaliter universo capitulo Eboraci, præcipiendo in vi obedientiæ, ut præfatum Honorium recepissent[3] et in stallum mitterent, tamen refutatus est: Simone Apulo contradicente, ea ratione, quod archiepiscopus specialiter de eo mentionem non fecerat in litteris suis, sicut de decano ejusdem ecclesiæ. Et factum est quod præfatus decanus, turbator pacis, et immemor professionis, quam prædicto archiepiscopo fecerat, Rogerum de Sancto Edmundo recepit, et in stallum misit, et de archidiaconatu de Richemund investivit, post appellationem a magistro Honorio ad summum pontificem factam. Clerici autem de archidiaconatu de Richemund per prædicti Simonis Apuli violentam coercionem, et propter regis feralia mandata, fidelitates fecerunt ipsi Rogero de Sancto Edmundo, contra canonicam obedientiam quam prius fecerant magistro Honorio. Deinde convenientibus in capitulo Eboraci Simone decano et cæteris canonicis

Roger of S. Edmund made archdeacon of Richmond by the king, in opposition to Honorius.

The Dean installs him and the clergy submit to him in spite of Honorius's appeal to Rome.

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[1] *Wintoniensis*] Godfrey de Lucy.
[2] *Wigornensis*] John of Coutances.
[3] *recepissent*] reciperent, Savile.

ejusdem ecclesiæ, præfatus decanus in impetu iræ suæ non deferens appellationi ad summum pontificem factæ, excommunicavit Hugonem Murdac, concanonicum suum, eo quod ipse noluit consentire eis, nec aliquid de suo mittere in conspiratione facta contra archiepiscopum suum. Dicebat enim, "Vehementer emungit, qui san-"guinem ejicit." Eodem die cum idem Hugo ad vesperas audiendas intraret chorum, præcepit ei decanus ut exiret, tanquam excommunicatus; sed quia exire noluit, decanus fecit candelas exstingui, et exivit a choro.[1]

A.D. 1198.

The dean excommunicates Hugh Murdac.

Pugna inter Anglos et Walenses apud castellum Matildis.

Geoffrey Fitz Peter defeats the Welsh at Maud's Castle.

Eodem anno Gaufridus Filius Petri, justitiarius Angliæ, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est in Gualliam[2] ad succurrendum hominibus Willelmi de Brause, quos Venhunwin[3] frater Chadwalani obsederat in castello Matillis;[4] quo cum venisset, commisit prælium campestre cum prædicto Wenhunwin et suis; et licet plurimi Walanorum armati essent, tamen non valentes resistere exercitui Anglorum, versi sunt in fugam, et projicientes arma sua, ut levius citiusque fugerent, occisi sunt ex illis plusquam tria millia et septingenti, exceptis retentis, et illis qui lethaliter vulnerati evaserunt a campo. Ex parte autem Anglorum unus solus, ex inopinato ictu sagittæ a quodam socio suo incaute directæ vulneratus, interiit.

[1] *et . . . choro*] om. I.

[2] *Gualliam*] Gaulliam, A.; Walliam, B. D.

[3] *Venhunwin*] Wenhunwin, B. D. Gwenwynwyn, son of Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys.

[4] *Matillis*] Matildis, B. D. I. MS. C. gives here the names of the prisoners taken at Gameges (pp. 56 and 57), as if they had been taken at Maud's Castle.

A.D. 1198. August.

De nativitate Alexandri filii Willelmi regis Scottorum.

Birth of an heir of Scotland.

Eodem anno, mense Augusti, Ermengard regina Scottorum peperit filium suum primogenitum, et vocatum est nomen ejus Alexander;[1] quem Jocelinus venerabilis ecclesiæ Glascuensis episcopus baptizavit.

The war between Richard and Philip breaks out again.

Eodem anno, finitis treugis quas rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ statuerant inter se, donec segetes hinc et inde colligerentur; statim exarsit eorum nefanda rabies, et postpositis omnibus colloquiis hostiliter intravit uterque alterius regnum, et depopulando terras eorum prædas abduxerunt,[2] homines ceperunt, villas combusserunt. Rex autem Franciæ novum genus grassandi in populo reperiens, fecit quamplures de hominibus regis Angliæ, quos captivos tenebat, excæcare; et sic provocabat regem Angliæ, licet invitum, ad consimile impietatis opus.

Cruel treatment of prisoners.

Richard makes new alliances among the nobles of France and Flanders.

Eodem anno dux de Luvain,[3] et comes de Brene,[4] et Baldewinus comes Flandriæ,[5] et comes de Gynes,[6] et comes Boloniæ,[7] et Gaufridus comes de Pertico,[8] et comes de Sancto Egidio,[9] et comes de Blais,[10] et Arturus comes Britanniæ, et multi alii, relicto rege Franciæ, adhæserunt Ricardo regi Angliæ, jurantes ei, et ipse illis, quod nullam pacem cum rege Franciæ facerent, nisi de communi eorum consilio. Comes vero[11] Flandriæ obsedit

[1] *Alexander*] Afterwards Alexander II., king of Scots, 1214–1249. MS. D. omits all from this point to page 61.

[2] *abduxerunt*] adduxerunt, A.

[3] *dux de Luvain*] Henry the Warrior, 1190–1235.

[4] *comes de Brene*] Erard II., count of Brienne. (Walter; Bouquet. xvii. 588.)

[5] *comes Flandriæ*] Baldwin IX.

[6] *comes de Gynes*] Baldwin II., 1169–1206: or Arnold (Bouquet, xvii. 588).

[7] *comes Boloniæ*] Reginald of Dammartin.

[8] *comes de Pertico*] Geoffrey III., 1191–1202.

[9] *comes de Sancto Egidio*] Raymond VI.

[10] *comes de Blais*] Lewis, 1191–1205.

[11] *vero*] om. B. I.

villam de Sancto Odmaro,[1] et per vim cepit eam; similiter Ary,[2] et alias quamplures villas regis Franciæ. A.D. 1198. The count of Flanders takes S. Omer and Aire.

Eodem anno Henricus dux Saxoniæ, nepos Ricardi regis Angliæ, venit in Normanniam apud Andeli ad prædictum regem Angliæ avunculum suum, rediens de terra Suliæ; quem rex honorifice suscepit, sicut decebat tantum virum, nepotem suum. Visit of Henry of Saxony to Richard.

De prœlio campestri habito inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Philippum regem Franciæ, in quo Ricardus rex Angliæ victor exstitit.

Eodem anno, mense Septembris, Philippus rex Franciæ et Ricardus rex Angliæ congressi sunt in prælio inter Gameges, castellum regis Angliæ, et Vernun, castellum regis Franciæ; in quo congressu rex Franciæ cum suis, in fugam conversus, amisit viginti [3] de militibus suis, et plusquam lx.[4] servientes, equites, et pedites multos; et rex Angliæ secutus est regem Franciæ in ore gladii, donec se inclusit in castello suo de Vernun.[5] September. Richard defeats Philip between Gameges and Vernon.

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus recepit, per mandatum regis Ricardi, manerium de Sadberhe,[6] cum wapentacco, et feodis militum, et omnibus aliis ad illud pertinentibus, ita plenarie et integre sicut carta ejusdem regis testatur illud fuisse concessum Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo. Præterea dedit ei rex licentiam claudendi fossato et sepe boscum de Clif, et boscum de Craic, et utrumque quietum clamavit de reguardo forestæ, et ab omni inquietatione forestariorum. Sadberge restored to the see of Durham.

Eodem anno, mense Septembris, quinto kalendas Octobris, die Dominica, Ricardus rex Angliæ cepit per insultum castellum regis Franciæ quod dicitur Curceles, et aliud castellum ejusdem regis, quod dicitur Burriz: Sept. 27. Richard takes Courcelles and Burriz.

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[1] *Odmaro*] Audomaro, B.
[2] *Ary*] Arie, B.; Arye, I.
[3] *viginti*] 60, Savile.
[4] *lx.*] quadraginta, Savile.
[5] *Vernun*] Vernum, I.
[6] *Sadberhe*] Sadberge, G.

A.D. 1198. Sept. 28. Philip tries to recover Courcelles, and is defeated.

et in crastino captionis castellorum illorum, videlicet, iv^to^. kalendas Octobris, feria ii^a^., vigilia Sancti Michaelis, Philippus rex Franciæ magno congregato exercitu militum[1] et communarum suarum, exiens de Mantua profectus est versus Curceles. Quo audito, rex Angliæ venit obviam ei, et commisit cum eo prælium campestre, inter Curceles et Gysorcium;[2] in quo prælio rex Franciæ confectus fugit ad castellum de Gisors; et cum ascendisset pontem villæ de Gysorz, fractus est pons

He narrowly escapes drowning.

præ multitudine intrantium, et ipse rex Franciæ cecidit in rivera de Ethe, et bibit ex ea, et nisi celerius extraheretur, submersus in ea fuisset. In prælio autem illo Ricardus rex Angliæ tres milites una lancea prostravit.

Nomina militum qui capti fuerunt in prælio illo de gente regis Franciæ.

List of the prisoners taken by Richard.

Et in prælio illo capti sunt ex militibus regis Franciæ viri famosi quorum nomina hæc sunt:—

Galis[3] de Porta.
Matthæus de Mummorenci,[4]
Alanus de Roci.[5]
Girardus de Chori.
Philippus de Nantuil.
Petrus Lieschans.
Robertus de Sancto Dionisio.
Theobaldus de Walangugardun.
Chedunald[6] de Trie.
Rogerus de Molent.[7]
Aimer Thiers.

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[1] *militum*] litum, I.
[2] *Gisorcium*] Gisorz, I.
[3] *Galis*] Acalis, I.
[4] *Munmorenci*] Munmoreti, I.
[5] *Alanus de Roci*] Alanus de Boci, I.
[6] *Chedunald*] Chedulad, B. I.
[7] *Molent*] Modlend, I.; and altered in A. to *Modlent*, which is the reading of B. and G.

A.D. 1198. Sept. 28. List of prisoners taken by Richard.

Reinaldus de Ascy.
Baldewinus de Lenni.
Tomas de Asgent.
Ferri de Paris.
Petrus de la Truie.
Gwido de Levers.
Furmentin.
Terricus de Aucies.
Amfridus de Baalan.
Eborardus de Muntenni.
Punchardus.
Walterus Rufus.
Ernulphus de Lenni.
Odo de Muntiun.
Willelmus de Sauceai.
Jollenus de Bray.
Petrus de Ponci.[1]
Dembertus.[2]
Puncardus de castello Empurcam.[3]
Willelmus de Merlou.
Johannes de Grangia.
Teodbaldus[4] de Breun.
Robertus de Beauburc.
Gaufridus de Borhai.[5]
Petrus de Maidnili.[6]
Fulco de Gilerval.
Johannes de Serni de Loenais.[7]
Radulfus de Valucel.
Ferri de Brunai.
Toma del Castel.[8]
Willelmus de Rochemunt.[9]
Teodbaldus[4] de Misci.

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[1] *Ponchi*] Punci, I.
[2] *Dembertus*] Debertus, I.
[3] *Empurcam*] Empurtam, I.
[4] *Teodbaldus*] Theobaldus, B.
[5] *Borhai*] Borbai, I.
[6] *Maidnili*] Maidnil, I.; it is written on an erasure in A.
[7] *Loenais*] Leonais, I.
[8] *del Castel*] de Castel, B. I.
[9] *Rochemunt*] Rochemund, I.

A.D. 1198. Sept. 28. Capture of prisoners.

Et præter supradictos milites,[1] cepit rex Angliæ centum milites, et septies viginti equos coopertos ferro, et servientes equites, et pedites multos. Unde idem rex in hac forma scripsit Philippo Dunelmensi episcopo;

Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ ad Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum de supradicta victoria.

Sept. 30. Richard writes to the Bishop of Durham an account of the victories.

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, dilecto et fideli suo Philippo, "eadem gratia Dunelmensi episcopo, salutem. Noveritis "quod Dominica proxima ante festum Sancti Michaelis intravimus terram regis Franciæ apud Dangu, et insultum fecimus "apud Curceles, et castrum cepimus cum turre, et dominum "castri, et omnes alios qui erant in castro. Eodem die insultavimus domum fortem de Burriz, et totum quod in ea "erat cum domo cepimus, et sero redivimus cum exercitu "nostro apud Dangu. Die crastina rex Franciæ, his auditis, "venit de Mantua cum ccc. militibus, et servientibus, et communis suis, ad succurrendum castro de Curceles, quod non "putavit esse captum. Nos autem, ex quo cognovimus eum "venire, exivimus cum pauca gente, et gentem nostram "magnam dimisimus super ripam de Ethe, quia credebamus "eum venturum super gentem nostram ultra ripam ex parte "de Dangu. Ipse autem cum gente sua descendit versus "Gysorcium, et nos eum in fugam conversum, et gentem "suam, in tanta districtione posuimus in portam Gysorcii, quod "pons fractus est sub illis, et rex Franciæ, ut audivimus, bibit "de riveria, et alii milites usque ad viginti submersi sunt. "Nos autem ibi cum una lancea prostravimus Mathæum de "Montemorenci,[2] et Alanum de Rusci, et Fulconem de Gilerval, "et captos detinuimus; et bene capti sunt de gente sua usque "ad centum milites, quorum nomina majorum vobis mittimus, "et aliorum vobis mittemus cum eos viderimus, quia Marchadeus habuit usque ad xxx. quos non[3] vidimus. Servientes, "equites et pedites capti sunt, quorum non est numerus, et "dextrarii ducenti capti sunt, quorum septies viginti cooperti "sunt de ferro. Ita devicimus regem Franciæ apud Gysorcium;

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[1] *milites*] multos, ins. B. I.

[2] *Montemorenci*] Munmorenti, I.; Munmerenci, B.; Mummoranci, Savile.

[3] *non*] nondum, I.

" sed nos idem non fecimus, immo Deus et jus nostrum per " nos; et in hoc facto posuimus in causa caput nostrum, et " regnum etiam, supra consilium omnium nostrorum. Hæc " vobis significamus ut super hoc nobiscum gaudeatis. Testibus " nobis ipsis apud Dangu, xxx°. die Septembris." A.D. 1198. Sept. 28.

Ravages of the French in Normandy.

Philippus[1] rex Franciæ intravit Normanniam cum exercitu multo, et rex Angliæ non habuit secum sexaginta homines; disperserat enim exercitum suum per loca diversa; tamen ipse secutus est Francos post tergum cum paucis suorum, donec ad mandatum suum convenerunt ad eum circiter cc. milites, et Marchadeus cum ruta sua. Franci ergo cum multo plures essent, videntes regem Angliæ et suos, cum incendissent circiter xviii. villas, bono passu abierunt, et rex Angliæ a tergo fugavit illos, et Marchadeus[2] cum ruta sua prævenit illos, et capti sunt ex Francis circiter xxx. equites et servientes, et centum equi, præter occisos. Quod factum est versus Vernun; non enim per viam qua venerant abierunt, id est per vadum de Dangu; sed timore conversi sunt versus Vernun: ita quod probrum adhuc est inter Francos, quod rex illorum, relictis illis, præfugerit super Morellum senem, quem, inquiunt, decem annos habuit;[3] nec aliquid tulerunt de Normannia nisi forte tres vel quatuor milites, et unum servientem.

Disgraceful flight of Philip on his old horse.

Summary of Richard's success in this war.

Postea rex Angliæ, collecto exercitu, transivit in Galliam per vadum de Dangu, et cepit, ut supra dictum est, Burriz et Curceles, et aliud castellum; hominesque sui duobus diebus continuis rapinis et incendiis Vogesin Gallicum[4] devastaverunt: et cum rex Angliæ subverteret turrim de Curceles, rex Franciæ adunatis suis supervenit; et congressi sunt duo reges, et rex Franciæ effusis habenis versus est in fugam in medio terræ suæ, et persecutus est eum rex Angliæ[5] cum exercitu suo, et comprehendit de militibus regis Franciæ ad minus octoginta tres, præter servientes alabastarios, et præter

[1] *Philippus*] Post hæc, C.
[2] *Marchadeus*] Marcadeus, I.
[3] *habuit*] habuisse, G.
[4] *Gallicum*] Castellum, I.
[5] *Angliæ*] om. .

A.D. 1198. September.

Recapitulation of the campaign.

suffocatos in fluvio de[1] Ethe: præ nimia enim fuga Francorum pons Ethe ante Gysortium fractus est sub illis, ita quod rex Franciæ cecidit in aquam, et vix per pedem extractus pene suffocatus est; alii autem suffocati sunt plurimi, inter quos Milo[2] de Puteaco, comes de Bar, et Johannes frater Willelmi des Barres, miles probus, suffocati sunt in fluvio Ethe. Willelmus autem castellanus et dominus de Curceles, statim post captionem suam mortuus est.

Philip burns Evreux.

Postea rex Franciæ congregato exercitu intravit Normanniam, et combussit Ebroicas et septem alias villas.

John burns Neufbourg.

Comes autem Johannes, frater Ricardi regis, combussit Novum Burgum; quod rex Franciæ sperans a suis fieri, milites misit ad prohibendum suis ne procederent; ex quibus capti sunt xviii. milites et servientes multi.

Abbeville plundered by Richard's mercenaries.

Postea Marchadeus cum ruta sua intravit Flandriam, et invasit nundinas prope Abbeville, et spoliavit mercatores Franciæ, et cum præda magna rediens[3] in Normanniam replevit terram spoliis Francorum, et multos eorum interfecit, et multos captivos secum duxit redimendos.

The Earl of Leicester fails in an attempt to recover Pasci, and is compelled to fly.

Postea Robertus comes Leicestriæ venit cum xl. militibus et paucis servientibus ante castellum de Pasci, quod suum fuerat; et milites castelli exierunt, cum multis servientibus et communa villæ, ut eum et suos comprehenderent; sed ipse non valens eis resistere, vix evasit, et amisit de militibus suis quatuor. In crastino autem iterum idem comes, associatis sibi pluribus de familia regis Angliæ militibus, venit ante castellum de Pasci, dispositis prius militibus, et servientibus multis per diversa loca ad insidias parandas hominibus castelli.[5] Cum autem milites castelli, qui pridie eum a campo fugaverant, vidissent illum, exierunt cum impetu, et ipse fugit ante illos, donec inciderunt in insidiantes, et capti sunt ex eis xviii. milites et plebs multa.

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[1] *de*] om. B. I.

[2] *Milo*] Milio, I.

[3] *rediens*] rediit, I.

[4] *castelli*] om. I.

Interim Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et statim per mandatum regis Franciæ, et per licentiam domini sui regis Angliæ, perrexit in Galliam ad tractandum de pace facienda inter illos duos reges; et cum rex Franciæ offerret se redditurum regi Angliæ, pro bono pacis, omnes terras et castella sua quæ occupaverat, excepto castello de Gysorcio, de quo ille poneret se in judicio sex baronum Normanniæ, quos ipse eligeret, et sex baronum Galliæ, quos rex Angliæ sibi eligeret, quis eorum majus jus haberet in castello illo habendo; noluit rex Angliæ, nisi comes Flandriæ, et cæteri omnes, qui relicto rege Franciæ ei adhæserunt, fuissent infra pacem.

A.D. 1198. September. The archbishop of Canterbury is sent to Philip to treat for peace.

Richard insists on the count of Flanders being included.

Eodem anno Hugo Bardulfi,[1] et magister Rogerus Arundel,[2] et Gaufridus Hachet, quibus commissæ fuerant Lincolnesire, Notinchamsire,[3] Derebisire, Everwicsire,[4] Norhumberland, Westmeriland, Cumberland, Loncastre,[5] itinerantes placitaverunt placita coronæ regis.[6]

Iter of the justices in the north.

Item de placitis coronæ regis.

List of agenda of the itinerant justices.

"I. De placitis coronæ novis et veteribus, quæ non sunt "finita coram justitiis domini regis.

"II. De omnibus assisis.

"III. De morte antecessorum.

"IV. De nova dissaisina.

"V. De magnis assisis usque ad x. libratas terræ, et infra.

"VI. Et de advocationibus ecclesiarum: et capientur coram "eis electiones magnæ assisæ per mandatum domini regis, "vel ejus capitalis justitiæ.

"VII. De ecclesiis vacantibus, vel non vacantibus, quæ "fuerunt de donatione domini regis, quis eas donaverit, vel "quis eas habeat, et per quem, et quantum valent.

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[1] *Bardulfi*] Bardulphi, B.; Bardolfi, I.

[2] *Arundel*] Harundel, B. I.

[3] *Lincolnesire, Notinchamsire*] Lincolnesyre, Notinchamsyre, I.

[4] *Everwicsire*] Vervicsyre, I.; Warwicsyre, B. D. The initial E is erased in G. but C. has Everwikschyre.

[5] *Loncastre*] Lancastre, I.

[6] *coronæ regis*] quorum capitula hæc sunt, ins. B. I. The words have been written in A., and marked for erasure.

A.D. 1198.

Agenda of the itinerant justices.

"VIII. De excaetis domini regis, et eorum valentiis, et quis "eos habeat, et per quem.

"IX. De dominabus, et de valectis, et puellis, quæ sunt vel "esse debent in donatione domini regis, et de valentiis terra- "rum suarum; et si quis eorum vel earum sit maritatus; et "inquiratur, cui, per quem, et a quo tempore.

"X. Inquirendum est etiam quæ viduæ non finierunt pro se "maritandis, et finis capiatur ad opus domini regis.

"XI. De sergentariis[1] domini regis, quis eas habeat, et per "quem, et quantum valent, et qui finem non fecerint ad "auxilium domini regis, et qui fecerunt, et finis capiatur.

"XII. De usuris Christianorum, et eorum catallis qui sunt "mortui.

"XIII. De illis qui sunt in misericordia[2] regis, et non ad- "merciati.

"XIV. De purpresturis domini regis.

"XV. De viis domini regis estreciatis.

"XVI. De thesauris inventis.

"XVII. De malefactoribus, et eorum receptoribus.

"XVIII. De fugitivis retatis reversis post ultimam assisam.

Weights and measures.

"XIX. De omnibus ponderibus et mensuris et ulnis reno- "vatis, et si iv. homines, qui sunt atornati ad hæc custo- "dienda in unaquaque villa, fecerint quod inde statutum "est, et si attachiaverunt transgressores illius assisæ;[3] et "si non attachiaverunt, prout deberent, puniantur sicut ipsi "transgressores. Totum vinum illius qui vendidit contra "assisam, capietur ad opus domini regis, et præterea dominus "vini, et venditores sint in misericordia.[4]

Inquiry into the conduct of officials.

"XX. Inquirendum est per omnes comitatus de hidis et "carucatis, et si justitiarii, qui ad hæc attornati fuerunt, "se bene habuerunt, et si de omnibus receperunt, et si aliqua "concelaverunt. De custodibus portuum maris, si quid rece- "perunt quod non reddiderunt, et si mercedem aliquam re- "ceperunt pro jure regis retinendo, et si quis aliquid rece- "perit, qui non fuerit ad hoc attornatus. Inquirendum est, "si omnes venerint ad summonitiones justitiarum domini "regis, sicut venire debent, et si quis sit qui non venerit, "quis ille fuerit, et qualiter nominatus fuerit."

Visitation of the forests.

His igitur et aliis vexationibus, sive juste sive injuste, tota Anglia a mari usque ad mare redacta est ad inopiam. Sed his nondum finitis supervenit aliud genus

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[1] *sergentariis*] serjanteriis, B.; serganteriis, I.

[2] *misericordia*] domini, ins. I.

[3] *et si . . . assisæ*] om. I.

[4] *misericordia*] regis, add. B. G.

tormenti ad confusionem hominum regni, per justitiarios forestarum, videlicet per Hugonem Nevilla, summum justitiarium omnium forestarum regis in Anglia, qui cognominatus est Cuuelu,[1] et per Hugonem Wac, et per Ernisium de Neville. Prædictis igitur justitiariis forestarum itinerantibus præceptum est ex parte regis, ut per singulos comitatus, per quos ipsi ituri essent, convenirent coram eis ad placita forestæ archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites et barones, et omnes libere tenentes, et de unaquaque villa præpositus et iv. homines, ad audienda præcepta regis. A.D. 1198. Composition of the forest courts.

Hæc est assisa domini regis, et hæc sunt præcepta de forestis suis in Anglia, facta per assensum et consilium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et abbatum, comitum, et baronum et militum totius regni sui.

"(I.) Dominus rex primum defendit, quod[2] aliquis ei forisfaciat de venatione sua vel de forestis suis in aliqua re, et non vult quod confidant in hoc, quod habuit misericordiam de illis per eorum catalla[3] hucusque, qui ei forisfecerint de venatione sua, et de forestis suis. Nam si qui a modo ei forisfecerint inde, et inde convicti fuerint, plenariam vult de illis justitiam fieri, qualis facta fuit[4] tempore Henrici avi patris domini regis, videlicet, ut amittant oculos et testiculos. Assize of the forest.

"(II.) Item dominus rex defendit, quod nullus habeat arcus vel sagittas, neque canes neque leporarios in forestis suis nisi habeat ipsum regem ad warantum[5] vel aliquem alium qui eum possit inde[6] warentizare.

"(III.) Item rex defendit, quod nullus donet vel vendat aliquid ad destructionem bosci sui, vel ad vastam, qui sit infra forestam regis; sed concedit bene quod capiant de boscis suis quod necesse eis fuerit sine vasto, et hoc per visum forestarii sui et viridariorum suorum.

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[1] *Cuuelu*] Euuellu, Savile. MS. G. omits the clause.

[2] *quod*] si, ins. B. Compare the Assize of Woodstock of 1184, of which this is a new issue with additions. Ben. Pet. ii. Pref. clxi.; Hoveden, ii. 245.

[3] *catalla*] catella, I.

[4] *facta fuit*] fuerit, I.

[5] *warantum*] suum, add. Savile.

[6] *inde*] om. I.

A.D. 1198.
Assize of the forest.

"(IV.) Item præcipit, quod omnes illi qui boscos habent " infra metas forestæ domini regis, quod ponant idoneos fores- " tarios in boscis suis, de quibus forestariis ipsi, quorum " bosci fuerint, sint plegii, vel tales inveniant plegios idoneos, " qui possint emendare, si forestarii in aliquo forisfecerint " quod domino regi pertineat.

"(V.) Item præcipit, quod sui forestarii curam capiant " super forestarios militum et aliorum, qui boscos habent infra " metas forestæ domini regis, quod bosci non destruantur. " Nam si super hoc bosci eorum destructi fuerint, sciant bene " illi, quorum bosci fuerint, quod de ipsismet vel de eorum " terris capietur emendatio, et non de alio.

"(VI.) Item præcipit rex, quod sui forestarii jurent, quod " secundum omne posse suum tenebunt ejus assisam, qualem " eam fecit, de forestis suis, et quod non vexabunt milites " neque probos homines de hoc quod dominus rex eis con- " cessit de boscis eorum.

"(VII.) Item præcipit, quod in quolibet comitatu, in quo " venationem habet, ponantur xii. milites ad custodiendam " venationem suam et viride in forestis suis, et quod iv. mili- " tes ponantur ad[1] adgistandos boscos suos, et ad recipiendum " pannagium suum, et custodiendum, et defendendum.

"(VIII.) Item præcipit quod nullus adgistet boscos suos infra " metas forestæ suæ, antequam bosci eorum adgistentur; et " est sciendum quod incipit adgistamentum domini regis xv. " dies ante festum Sancti Michaelis, et durat xv. diebus post " festum Sancti Michaelis.

"(IX.) Item præcipit rex, quod si forestarius ejus[2] habet " in custodia sua dominicos boscos regis, et bosci illi destructi " fuerint, et non possit nec sciat justam causam monstrare " quare bosci destruantur, nihil aliud capiatur de forestario " illo, nisi proprium corpus suum.

"(X.) Item præcipit, quod nullus clericus ei forisfaciat de " venatione sua, neque de forestis suis: et præcipit bene " forestariis suis, quod si invenerint eos forisfacientes, non " dubitent in eos manus imponere,[3] ad eos resistendos et capien- " dos; ipse enim illos[4] inde warentizabit.

"(XI.) Item rex præcipit, quod omnia essarta videantur in " quolibet tertio anno, tam nova quam vetera, infra reguardum, " et omnes purpresturæ similiter, et omnia vasta boscorum, et " quod quodlibet illorum per se imbrevietur.

"(XII.) Item rex præcipit, quod archiepiscopi, episcopi,

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[1] *ad*] om. B. I.
[2] *ejus*] om. I.
[3] *imponere*] et, ins. I.
[4] *illos*] eos, Savile.

A.D. 1198.
Assize of the forest.

" comites, barones, et milites,[1] et liberi tenentes, et omnes homi-" nes de terra sua veniant ad summonitionem magistri forestarii " sui ad placitanda placita de forestis suis.

" (XIII.) Prohibendum est etiam ad placita forestæ, ne aliqua " careta exeat chiminum in foresta regis, neque porci sint in " foresta regis tempore de foinesun, scilicet xv. diebus ante " Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et xv. diebus post " idem festum.

" (XIV.) Est autem sciendum,[2] qui forisfecerit in foresta regis " de venatione sua, et inde attaintus fuerit, erit in misericordia " regis ad oculos et testiculos perdendos. Qui autem foris-" fecerit in foresta regis de viridi, sive per colpaturam,[3] sive " per esbrancaturam, sive per foditionem turbarum, sive per " esscoriationem moræ, sive per colpationem[4] de subnemore, sive " per essartum, sive per novam purpresturam per sepem vel " fossatum, vel per remotionem molendini, vel cursus aquæ, " vel bercariæ, vel aliarum domorum, vel per fenum fal-" candum extra sepes vel extra fossata, erit in misericordia " regis de pecunia sua, nisi habeat viridarios vel forestarios " regis ad warantum. Similiter qui arcus vel sagittas por-" taverit, vel canes duxerit sine copula, per forestam regis, " et inde attaintus fuerit, erit in misericordia regis.

" (XV.) Statutum etiam est, quod semper in tertio anno fiat " visus forestæ, id est regwardum forestæ.

Reguard of the forest.

" (XVI.) In rewardo autem forestæ hæc supradicta videnda " sunt. Et videnda sunt in rewardo nova essarta, et vetera " inbladata post ultimum rewardum, et quo blado vel legumine " inbladata sint.[5] Nova autem sarta erunt in manu regis; si " vetera sarta inbladata sunt de frumento vel siligine, una-" quæque acra dabit regi xii. denarios de illa vestitura; et " si inbladata fuerint de avena vel hordeo, vel fabis vel pisis, " vel alio legumine, unaquæque acra dabit regi vi. denarios " de illa vestitura.

" (XVII.) Et est sciendum, quod tempore Henrici regis, filii " Matildis imperatricis, permissum erat intra metas forestæ " fossata fieri loco sepium. Et idem rex Henricus statuit apud " Wudestoke,[6] quod quicunque forisfecerit ei de foresta sua " semel de venatione sua, de seipso salvi plegii capiantur; et " si iterum forisfecerit similiter capiantur de ipso salvi plegii ;[7]

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[1] *et milites*] om. B. I.
[2] *sciendum*] quod, ins. D. Savile.
[3] *colpaturam*] culpaturam, B.
[4] *colpationem*] culpationem, Savile.
[5] *sint*] sit, I.
[6] *Wudestoke*] Wodestoke, B. I.
[7] *et si . . . plegii*] om. B. I.

A.D. 1198. "si autem tertio idem forisfecerit, pro tertio forisfacto nulli "plegii capiantur, sed proprium corpus forisfactoris."

The king exacts the payment of the carucage by the regular clergy.

Eodem anno, quia viri religiosi noluerunt dare regi v. solidos de wanagio carucæ,[1] sicut cæteri homines regni faciebant, exiit edictum a rege, ut quicunque in regno suo forisfecisset clerico, aut alii viro religioso, non cogeretur satisfacere illi; sed si clericus aut alius vir religiosus forisfecisset alicui laico, statim compelleretur ad satisfaciendum illi: unde factum est, quod viri religiosi ad redemptionem coacti sunt.

All charters are to be confirmed by the new seal.

Præterea præcepit idem rex ut omnes, tam clerici quam laici, qui cartas sive confirmationes habebant de sigillo suo veteri, deferrent eas ad sigillum suum novum renovandas, et nisi fecerint, nihil quod actum fuerat per sigillum suum vetus ratum haberetur.

The pope intercedes with Richard for archbishop Geoffrey.

Eodem anno Innocentius papa misit litteras suas deprecatorias ad Ricardum regem Angliæ pro Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, postulans, et paterna admonitione exhortans, ut ipse præfatum archiepiscopum, prece sua et servitio, in amorem et fraternam familiaritatem susciperet, et cum pace ad sua redire permitteret, ne oporteret eum in illum et in regnum suum per ecclesiasticam censuram animadvertere. Unde factum est, quod Ricardus rex Angliæ misit ad præfatum archiepiscopum Philippum Dunelmensem, et Eustachium Eliensem, et Godefridum Vintoniensem, et Johannem Wigornensem, et Savaricum Batoniensem episcopos, in spiritu humilitatis postulantes ex parte regis, ut ipse ratas haberet donationes regis, quas fecerat in Eboracensi ecclesia, et dominus rex redderet ei archiepiscopatum suum cum omni integritate. Quibus archiepiscopus respondit: "Confratres mei estis, et consilium vestrum "faciam, si feceritis mihi scriptum, cum sigillorum "vestrorum testimonio, quod consilium istud coram "domino papa warentizabitis." Cui præfati episcopi responderunt, "Scriptum non dabimus, sed in voluntate

He sends several bishops to propose terms.

Geoffrey asks their opinion of the case in writing, under seal.

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[1] *carucæ*] carrucæ, I.

"vestra sit: ætatem habetis, pro vobis ipsis loquamini:" et his dictis, qui missi fuerant redierunt ad regem cum responso archiepiscopi. Et archiepiscopus Romam profectus est; et rex Angliæ contra eum nuncios suos Romam misit, qui in hac forma scripserunt ei; "Dominus papa scribit vobis[1] cum multa supplicatione, "ut restituatis archiepiscopo Eboracensi archiepiscopatum suum in integrum, cum fructibus de archiepiscopatu perceptis. Ita tamen, quod de pecunia, "in qua cum vobis tenere proposuimus, vobis plene "et integre satisfaciat: scribit etiam domino cardinali, "et aliis quibusdam, ut ad faciendum vos moneant et "inducant: vel si[2] omnino nolueritis, primo per interdictum Eboracensis provinciæ, deinde per totius regni "interdictum, appellatione remota, compellant. Clerici "vero vestri per cardinalem, commonitione præmissa, "ad resignandos redditus, quos interim perceperunt, "cum districtione cogentur, nisi aut auctoritate Romanæ ecclesiæ, aut decursione sex mensium, juxta "Lateranense concilium excepto tempore suspensionis, "poterint se tueri. Canonici Eboracensis ecclesiæ debent "moneri ad concordiam, et si aliquid novum emerserit, "iterum utraque pars domini papæ se præsentabit "obtutibus, privilegio canonicorum vigorem solitum "obtinente."

A.D. 1198. Geoffrey goes to Rome.

Report of Richard's agents at Rome.

The pope decides in favour of the archbishop.

Reference to be made to Rome in case of further disputes.

Eodem anno in æstate contigit intra[3] fines Italiæ, in quadam civitate non longe a Januis, res digna memoria. In hac civitate primo quidam civis, exigentibus peccatis suis, effectus est energumenus, id est, dæmoniacus; et infra paucos dies adeo crevit eorum numerus, ut quilibet sibi timeret ne simile incurreret periculum. Communi igitur civium consilio ad eandem urbem vocati convenerunt viri religiosi,

Demoniacal possession of several persons near Genoa.

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[1] *scribit vobis*] scripsit nobis, I. A letter to this effect is in the register of Innocent III., dated Apr. 28, 1199; that is, after Richard's death. *Epp. Innoc. III.*, ed. Baluze, i. 369.

[2] *si*] om. I.

[3] *intra*] ultra, B. D. I.

A.D. 1198. Measures taken against the possessed.

et præcipue abbas de Luceio[1] de ordine Cisterciensi, qui inter eos major religionis auctoritate videbatur, ut quid agendum pavidis civibus deliberarent. Indictum est triduanum jejunium. Tertia vero die convocatis coram se dæmoniacis, obtestatur prædictus abbas in nomine Jesu Christi, quatenus sane causam exponant[2] cur hanc civitatem plus cæteris vexare præsumpserint, et ut exeant a famulis Christi nomine signatis. Quorum unus voce terribili et sublimi clamans, "Cogitis nos," inquit "exire a vasis nobis rationabiliter concessis. Nos quidem sumus legio illa "dæmonum, quam Jesus vester ab homine ejectam "permisit præcipitare porcos in mare. Nunc autem a "vinculis quibus tenebamur soluti, potestatem accepimus in blasphematores tantum virginis Mariæ. In "hac igitur civitate tales invenimus, et inventos, sicut "dignum est, torquere debemus. Quare si ejecti fuerimus, noveritis, quod te, hypocrita, et ordinem tuum "in proximo persequemur." Ad secundam igitur jussionem ipsius exierunt, cum magna tamen difficultate, relinquentes fœda vestigia.

Answer of the possessed.

Truce of six years in Palestine.

Eodem anno Aimericus[3] de Lezinant,[4] rex de Barhud,[5] et Accaron, princeps insulæ Cypri, et cæteri Christiani de terra Suliæ, et pagani qui in eadem terra sunt, ceperunt inter se treugas a festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ in sex annos sequentes duraturas, nisi aliquis rex Christianorum potens in partes illas veniret.

November. Truce between Richard and Philip.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ et Philippus rex Franciæ, mense Novembris, ceperunt inter se treugas, usque ad festum Sancti Hilarii proximo sequens.[6]

Decision of a dispute between Robert of Turnham

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus, ad petitionem Roberti de Turneham, concessit ei coram rege recognitionem xii. legalium hominum de visneto

[1] *Luceio*] possibly Luceda.
[2] *exponant*] om. I.
[3] *Aimericus*] Haimericus, G.
[4] *Lezinant*] Lizinant, B. I.
[5] *Barhud*] Barud, B.; Barrud, I.
[6] MS. D. omits the last two paragraphs.

de Clif, quis illorum majus jus habebat in manerio illo de Clif: videlicet utrum ipse Robertus debeat manerium illud tenere de episcopo Dunelmensi, et inde homo suus esse; vel episcopus illud deberet habere in demenio. Per sacramentum igitur xii. hominum recognitum est, manerium illud esse jus hæreditarium uxoris prædicti Roberti, filiæ Willelmi Fossard, et sic præfatus episcopus amisit manerium illud de Clif, quod prædecessores sui multo tempore pacifice et inconcusse possederant. Facta autem sunt hæc coram Hugone Bardulfi,[1] et magistro Rogero Harundel, et Gaufrido Haget,[2] tunc temporis placitorum coronæ regis apud Eboracum justitiariis.

A.D. 1198. and the bishop of Durham, before the justices.

Eodem anno, defuncto magistro Ricardo de Coldingham,[3] Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus, et Bertrannus Dunelmensis ecclesiæ prior, dissenserunt in donatione ecclesiarum prædicti Ricardi. Dicebat enim episcopus donationem ad eum pertinere, tanquam ad episcopum et abbatem Dunelmensis ecclesiæ. Hæc contra prior respondit, quod ad eum pertinebat donatio, quia prædecessores sui et ipse sine alicujus contradictione eas dederant, sicut priores et domini fundi, et illi qui omnem potestatem abbatis in choro, et in dispositione domus et reddituum suorum habent, ex concessione regum, et institutione episcoporum Dunelmensium, et Romanorum pontificum confirmatione. Sed non sic quievit controversia illa, immo in tantum excrevit, quod ex præcepto episcopi Aimericus Dunelmensis archidiaconus obsedit ecclesiam Sancti Oswaldi in Elvet, in qua monachi se receperant, et non permisit victualia ad eos deferri. Quadam autem die, post appellationem a monachis ad summum pontificem factam, idem Aimericus fecit ignem apponi ostio ecclesiæ, ut sic per fumum et vaporem ignis monachos ejiceret. Semiusto igitur ostio,

Dispute between the bishop and prior of Durham about a presentation.

The monks are besieged in a church by the archdeacon.

[1] *Bardulfi*] Bardolfi, I.
[2] *Haget*] Hachet, I.
[3] *Coldingham*] Goldingham, I.

A.D. 1198. They are smoked out. funesti satellites intraverunt ecclesiam, et vi et armata manu ejecerunt monachos. Sed Deus mutavit sententiam episcopi in melius, qui, propter reverentiam beatissimi Cuthberti, eandem ecclesiam in proprios usus monachorum contulit, et carta sua confirmavit:[1] concessit etiam illis liberam ecclesiarum suarum dispositionem, cum illius tamen[2] moderato assensu.

The bishop gives way to them.

Eodem[3] anno papa Innocentius, videns afflictionem Christianorum qui erant in terra Jerosolimitana, in hac forma scripsit;

Epistola Innocentii papæ de subvectione facienda terræ Jerosolimitanæ.[4]

August 13. Letter of the pope to the clergy and people in the province of York, urging an effort in behalf of Palestine.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus, Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et suffraganeis ejus, "et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prioribus, et aliis ecclesiarum "prælatis, comitibus et baronibus, et universo populo in Ebo-"racensi provincia constitutis, salutem et apostolicam bene-"dictionem. Post miserabile Jerosolimitanæ regionis excidium, "post lacrymabilem stragem populi Christiani; post deploran-"dam invasionem illius terræ in qua pedes Christi steterunt, "et ubi Deus rex noster salutem in medio terræ dignatus est "operari; post ignominiosam nobis vivificæ crucis transla-"tionem, in qua Salus mundi pependit, et delevit chirogra-"phum mortis antiquæ; apostolica sedes super tantæ calami-"tatis infortunio turbata laboravit, clamans et plorans, ita "quod præ incessante clamore raucæ factæ sunt fauces ejus, "et ex vehementi ploratu pene[5] ipsius oculi defecerunt. "Verum si, secundum prophetam, 'Jerusalem obliti fuerimus, Ps. cxxxvii. 5, 6. "'obliviscatur nos dextra nostra: adhæreat lingua nostra "'faucibus nostris, si non meminerimus ejus.' Clamat adhuc "apostolica sedes, et quasi tuba vocem exaltat, excitare cupiens

[1] *confirmavit*] et, ins. I.

[2] *tamen*] om. I.

[3] *Eodem . . . scripsit*] omitted in MSS. B. D. I. with the following letter.

[4] This is a circular letter issued by Innocent III. to several archbishops and at several dates. The copy printed in Baluze's edition of the pope's letters is addressed to the archbishop of Narbonne, and dated at Reate, "xviii. kal Sep-"tembris," vol. i. pp. 192–194; and is less perfect than the copy in the text.

[5] *pene*] om. Savile.

"populos Christianos ad prælium Christi bellandum, et vindi- A.D. 1198. Aug. 13.
"candum injuriam Crucifixi, usa Ipsius verbo dicentis: 'O vos Lamentation over the state of the Holy Land.
"'omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est
Lam. i. 12. "'dolor similis, sicut dolor meus.' Ecce enim, hæreditas
"nostra versa est ad alienos, domus nostræ ad extraneos
Lam. i. 4. "devenerunt, viæ Syon lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant
"ad solemnitatem; facti sunt inimici ejus in capite. Sepulcrum
Isa. xi. 10. "Domini, quod propheta gloriosum fore prædixit, profanatum
"ab impiis inglorium est effectum. Gloria nostra, de qua dicit
"apostolus: 'Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi cruce Domini
Gal. vi. 14. "'nostri Jesu Christi,' sub manu tenetur hostili; et Ipse
"Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui captivitatem nostram pro
"nobis moriens captivavit, quasi captivus ab impiis ab hære-
"ditate sua cogitur exulare. Existente quondam in castris
"arca Domini Sabaoth, Urias domum sanctam ingredi recu-
2 Sam. xi. 13. "savit, a licito uxoris se compescens amplexu. Nunc vero
"principes nostri, gloria Israel de loco suo in injuriam nostri
"translata, vacant adulterinis amplexibus, deliciis et divitiis
"abutentes; et dum se invicem inexorabili odio persequuntur,
"dum unus in alium suas nititur injurias vindicare, non est
"quem moveat injuria Crucifixi: non attendentibus ipsis,
"quod jam insultant nobis inimici nostri, dicentes: 'Ubi est Exultation of the enemies of the cross.
"'Deus vester, Qui nec Se potest, nec vos, de manibus nos-
"'tris liberare? Ecce, jam profanavimus sancta vestra; ecce,
"'jam ad desiderabilia vestra manum extendimus, et ea loca
"'impetu primo violabiliter invasimus, et ea vobis tenemus
"'invitis, in quibus superstitionem vestram principium fin-
"'gitis suscepisse. Jam infirmavimus et confregimus hastas
"'Gallorum, Anglorum conatus elisimus,[1] Teuthonicorum
"'vires compressimus, nunc secundo Hispanos domuimus
"'animosos, et cum omnes virtutes vestras in nos duxeritis
"'concitandas, vix adhuc in aliquo profecistis. Ubi est ergo
"'Deus vester? exsurgat nunc et adjuvet vos, et fiat vobis
"'et Sibi protector. Theutonici siquidem, qui se præsume-
"'bant inauditum de nobis reportare triumphum, ad nos ve-
"'hementi spiritu transfretaverunt; et cum solum castrum
"'Barhuth, nullo defendente, cepissent, nisi eos sicut et alios
"'principes vestros fugæ beneficium liberasset, in se poten-
"'tiam nostram graviter fuissent experti, et eorum stragem
"'ipsorum soboles perpetuo ploraret. Reges enim et prin-
"'cipes vestri, quos dudum fugavimus de terra Orientis, ut
"'terrorem suam audendo dissimulent, ad suas latebras, ne
"'dicamus regna, reversi, malunt se invicem expugnare,

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[1] *elisimus*] elusimus, Savile.

A.D. 1198. Aug. 13. Their reproaches are unanswerable.

" 'quam denuo vires nostras et potentiam experiri. Quid " 'igitur superest, nisi ut his, quos fugientes in excusationem " 'vestram ad terræ custodiam dimisistis, gladio ultore per- " 'emptis, in terram vestram impetum faciamus, nomen ves- " 'trum et memoriam perdituri?' Qualiter ergo, fratres et " filii, opprobria exprobrantium repellemus, qualiter eis pote- " rimus respondere? cum eos pro parte verum prosequi videa- " mus? sicut nuper ad audientiam nostram certa significatione " pervenit. Recepimus enim litteras de partibus ultramarinis, " quod, cum Teuthonici Accon navigio pervenissent, castrum " de Baruth obtinuerunt, nemine defendente. Saraceni vero in " Jopen facientes impetum ex adverso, eam per violentiam " occupaverunt, et cæsis multis Christianorum millibus eam " funditus destruxerunt. Verum Teuthonici rumoribus de " morte imperatoris acceptis, non exspectato passagii tem- " pore, naves reduces ascenderunt. Unde Saraceni, qui ad " resistendum eis exercitum paraverant copiosum, in terram " Christianorum adeo debacchantur, ut Christianis nec sine " periculo civitates egredi liceat, nec in ipsis sine formidine " remanere: immo gladius eis foris imminet, metus intus. As- " sumite igitur, filii, spiritum fortitudinis, scutum fidei et " galeam salutis accipite, non in numero aut viribus, sed Dei " potius, Cui non est difficile in multis vel in paucis salvare, " potentia confidentes, ei Ei, per Quem estis, vivitis, et ha- " betis, secundum facultates proprias subvenite. Ipse quidem " pro vobis 'Semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, " 'in similitudinem hominum factus; et habitu inventus est " 'ut homo, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem " 'crucis;' et vos Eo paupere abundatis, Ipso fugato, quies- " citis, et nec inopi nec exuli subvenitis? Quisquis igitur in " tantæ necessitatis articulo suum negaverit obsequium Jesu " Christo, cum ante tribunal Ejus astiterit judicandus, quid " ad suam excusationem Ei poterit respondere? Si Deus sub- " iit mortem pro homine, dubitabit homo mortem subire pro " Deo? 'Cum non sint condignæ passiones hujus temporis " 'ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis.' Negabit " ergo servus Domino divitias temporales, cum Dominus servo " divitias largiatur æternas, 'Quas nec oculus vidit, nec auris " 'audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit?' 'Thesaurizet' igitur " homo 'thesauros in cœlis, ubi fures non effodiunt nec furan- " 'tur; ubi nec ærugo nec tinea demolitur.' Omnes et " singuli accingantur, ita quod in proximo sequenti Martio, " quælibet urbes per se, similiter et comites et barones juxta " facultates proprias, ad defensionem terræ nativitatis Domi- " nicæ, certis in expensis dirigant numerum bellatorum, illic

The German Crusaders have taken Beirout, but gone home again.

Exhortation to a new Crusade.

Eph. vi. 16, 17.

1 Sam. xiv. 6.

Phil. ii. 7.

Rom. viii. 18.

1 Cor. ii. 9.

S. Matt. vi. 20.

A.D. 1198. Aug. 13.

"saltem per biennium moraturum. Licet autem instantia
2 Cor. xi. 28. "nostra sit quotidiana sollicitudo ecclesiarum omnium, modo
"tamen hanc quasi præcipuam inter alias sollicitudines repu-
"tamus, per quam terræ Orientali totis desideramus affectibus
"subvenire, ne, si forte fuerit dilata subventio,[1] residuum lo-
Joel i. 4. "custæ comedat bruchus, et fiant novissima deteriora prioribus.
"Verum ne nos aliis onera gravia et importabilia videamur
"imponere, digito autem nostro ea movere nolumus, dicentes
S. Luke xi. 46. "tantum, et aut nihil aut minimum facientes, cum qui fecerit
"et docuerit magnus vocetur in regno cœlorum; Ejus exem-
Acts i. 1. "plo, Qui cœpit facere et docere, ut et nos, qui, licet im-
"meriti, vicem Ejus exercemus in terris, bonum aliis præbea-
"mus exemplum, in personis pariter et in rebus Terræ Sanctæ
"decrevimus subvenire; dilectis filiis nostris, Stephano tituli
"Sanctæ Praxedis presbytero, et Petro tituli Sanctæ Mariæ
"in Via Lata diacono, cardinalibus, apostolicæ sedis legatis,
"viris utique timoratis, scientia et honestate præclaris, po-
"tentibus in opere et sermone, quos inter alios fratres nostros
"speciali caritate diligimus, manu propria crucis signaculum
"imponentes, qui exercitum Domini humiliter et devote præ-
"cedant, et non mendicatis suffragiis, sed nostris et fratrum
"nostrorum sumptibus sustententur: per quos etiam aliud
"competens subsidium eidem terræ disposuimus destinare.

The pope sends two cardinals to be maintained at his cost;

"Interim autem dictum Petrum Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata
"diaconum cardinalem, ad carissimorum in Christo filiorum,
"Philippi Francorum et Ricardi Anglorum, regum illustrium
"præsentiam destinamus, ad reformandam pacem, vel treugas
"saltem usque ad quinquennium ordinandas, et exhortandos
"populos ad obsequium Crucifixi: quem, sicut apostolicæ
"sedis legatum, volumus et mandamus ob omnibus honorari,
"et mandatis et statutis ipsius humiliter obediri. Dictum
"vero Stephanum Sanctæ Praxedis presbyterum cardinalem,
"Venetias pro Terræ Sanctæ destinamus subsidio. De com-
"muni præterea fratrum nostrorum deliberatione statuimus,
"et vobis frater archiepiscope[2] et episcopis, et dilectis filiis
"abbatibus, et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis, districte præci-
"piendo mandamus, quatenus certum numerum bellatorum,
"vel pro certo numero certam pecuniæ quantitatem, in prox-
"imo sequenti Martio, pensata facultate cujuslibet, ad expug-
"nandam paganorum barbariem, et servandam hæreditatem
"Domini destinetis, quam Ipse proprio sanguine comparavit.
"Si quis autem, quod non credimus, constitutioni tam piæ ac

Cardinal Peter to persuade Richard and Philip to make peace;

and Stephen to Venice to prepare succours for Palestine.

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[1] *subventio*] correction for subvectio, A.

[2] *frater archiepiscope*] fratribus archiepiscopis, Savile.

A.D. 1198. Aug. 13. Pardons promised to those who will take part in or help forward the crusade.

"necessariæ præsumpserit obviare, sicut sacrorum canonum "trangressorem decrevimus puniendum, et usque ad satis-"factionem congruam ab officio censemus manere suspensum. "De Dei ergo misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri "et Pauli auctoritate confisi, et illa quam Deus nobis, licet "indignis, ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate, omnibus qui "laborem hujus itineris in personis propriis subierint et ex-"pensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis "egerint pœnitentiam, veniam indulgemus, et in retributione "justorum salutis æternæ pollicemur augmentum. Eis autem, "qui non in propriis personis illuc accesserint, sed in suis "tantum expensis, juxta facultatem et qualitatem suam, viros "idoneos destinaverint, illic saltem per biennium moraturos; "et illis similiter qui, licet in alienis expensis, in propriis "tamen personis assumptæ peregrinationis laborem impleve-"rint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Hujus "ergo remissionis volumus esse participes juxta quantitatem "subsidii, ac præcipue secundum devotionis affectum, qui ad "subvectionem[1] illius terræ de bonis suis congrue ministra-"bunt. Ut autem expeditius et securius ad subvectionem "terræ nativitatis Dominicæ quilibet accingantur, bona ipso-"rum, ex quo crucem susceperint, sub Beati Petri et nostra "protectione suscipimus; nec non sub archiepiscoporum et "episcoporum et aliorum prælatorum ecclesiæ Dei defensione "consistant; statuentes ut, donec de ipsorum obitu vel reditu "certissime cognoscatur, integra maneant, et quieta consis-"tant. Quod si quisquam contra præsumpserit, per censuram "ecclesiasticam compescatur. Ab hoc igitur opere nullus "omnino se subtrahat, cum id non a nobis, sed ab ipsis "fuerit apostolis institutum, qui collectas faciebant in genti-"bus, ut fratribus in Jerusalem laborantibus subvenirent. "Nolumus autem vos de Divina misericordia desperare, quan-"tumcunque sit Dominus peccatis nostris iratus, quin in manu "vestra perficiat, si, prout debetis, in humilitate cordis et "corporis iter fueritis peregrinationis aggressi, quod majoribus "non concessit. Consensissent enim majores forsitan, et dix-"issent: 'Manus nostra excelsa, et non Dominus fecit hæc "'omnia;' et sibi, non Domino, gloriam victoriæ ascripsissent. "Speramus enim quod non in ira misericordias continebit, "Qui, cum iratus est, non obliviscitur misereri, nos admonens "et exhortans: 'Convertimini ad Me, et Ego convertar ad "'vos.' Credimus etiam quod, si ambulaveritis in lege

Deut. xxxii. 27. Zech. i. 3.

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[1] *subvectionem*] altered to subventionem, A.

"Domini, non eorum sequentes vestigia, qui vani facti sunt "post vanitatem euntes, qui comessationibus et ebrietatibus "voluptuose vacabant, et ea exercebant in partibus transmarinis, quæ in terra nativitatis propriæ sine multa infamia "et detractione plurima non auderent; sed si spem vestram "in Eo solummodo posueritis, Qui non deserit sperantes in "Se, non tantum ab illicitis, sed quibusdam etiam licitis "abstinentes, Is Qui currum et exercitum Pharaonis pro"jecit in mare, arcum fortium infirmabit, et inimicos crucis "Christi, ut lutum platearum, a facie vestra delebit; non "autem nobis, aut vobis, sed Nomini Suo dans gloriam, Qui "est gloriosus in sanctis, mirabilis in majestate, faciens pro"digia, et, post lacrymationem et fletum, gaudium et exulta"tionem inducens. Si qui præterea proficiscentium illuc ad "præstandas usuras juramento tenentur astricti, creditores "eorum per vos, frater archiepiscope[1] et episcopi, in diocesi"bus vestris ecclesiastica districtione, sublato appellationis "obstaculo, compelli mandamus, ut eos a sacramento penitus "absolventes, ab usurarum ulterius exactione desistant. Si "quis vero creditorum eos ad solutionem coegerit usurarum, "ad restitutionem earum, sublato appellationis obstaculo, per "vos simili districtione cogatur. Judæos[2] vero ad remittendas "illis usuras per vos, filii principes, et per sæcularem com"pelli præcipimus potestatem: et donec eas remiserint, ab "universis Christi fidelibus, tam in mercimoniis quam aliis, "per excommunicationis sententiam, communionem eis jube"mus omnimodam denegari. Ad hæc autem expeditius et "melius exsequenda in provincia vestra, vos filii prior de "Thurgartun, et magister Vacaru,[3] duximus deputandos, qui "verbum Domini cæteris proponatis, et ad implendum man"datum apostolicum venerabiles fratres nostros archiepiscopum "vestrum, et ejus suffraganeos, et alios invitantes, taliter ex"sequamini causam Domini, quod et vos hujus sitis remis"sionis participes, et in hoc devotio vestra plenius elucescat. "Ad quod etiam laudabilius exsequendum, vobis unum de "fratribus militiæ Templi, alterum vero de fratribus Jerosoli"mitanæ Hospitalis, viros honestos et providos, assumatis. "Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, idus Augusti, pontifi"catus nostri anno primo."

A.D. 1198. Aug. 13.

If the Crusaders will be temperate and pious, they will be successful.

Judith xiii. 17.

Exod. xv. 4.

Ps. xviii. 43.

Exod. xv. 11.

Debts not to be exacted of crusaders.

The Jews to be compelled by the secular power to agree to this.

Provisions for carrying out this mandate.

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[1] *frater archiepiscope*] fratres archiepiscopi, Savile.

[2] *Judæos*] Judæi, A.

[3] The name of the prior of Thurgarton is not known. Master Vacaru is probably identical with the person called Master Vacem, in Hardy's edition of Le Neve's *Fasti*, iii. 446. He was a prebendary of Southwell in 1200. MS. G. has *Vacarius*.

A.D. 1198. Fulk of Neuilly does a great work as a preacher of repentance.

Eodem anno[1] erat in Gallia quidam sacerdos nomine Fulco,[2] quem magnificavit Dominus in conspectu regum: deditque ei potestatem cæcos illuminare, claudos, mutos, et alios diversis languoribus oppressos curare, dæmones effugare: hic autem meretrices, relicto impudicitiæ fræno, ad Dominum convertit; usurarios etiam ad cœlestem thesaurum invitans, quem nec ærugo nec tinea demolitur, nec fures furantur, fecit omnem substantiam, quam usura et fœnus devoraverant, in usus pauperum distribuere. Ipse quidem prædixit regibus Franciæ et Angliæ, quod unus illorum mala morte in proximo interiret, nisi celerius ab hostilitate cessassent. Et quia in illo tempore messis quidem erat multa, et pauci operarii, conjunxit ei Dominus[3] viros sapientes qui verbum Illius prædicarent populo,[4] videlicet,[5] magistrum Petrum de et dominum Robertum de , et dominum Eustachium abbatem de Flai, et cæteros quosdam, qui missi per orbem terrarum prædicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. S. Mark xvi. 20. Prædictus autem Fulco quadam die accessit ad Ricardum regem Angliæ, et ait illi: "Dico "tibi[6] ex parte omnipotentis Dei, ut tres filias tuas, "quas habes pessimas, citius marites, ne aliquid de-"terius tibi contingat."

His helpers in the work.

Visit of Fulk to Richard: he bids him provide for his three daughters.

O, digito compesce labella, Juv. Sat. i. 160.
Accusator erit, qui verum dixerit.[7]

Cui fertur regem respondisse: "Hypocrita, mentitus "es in caput tuum, quia filiam non habeo ullam." Ad quod Fulco respondens ait, "Certe non mentior; quia, "ut dixi, tres habes filias pessimas, quarum una est[8]

[1] *Eodem anno*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

[2] *Fulco*] Fulk of Neuilly.

[3] *Dominus*] Deus, I.

[4] *qui . . . populo*] verba salutis æternæ prædicantes, Savile.

[5] *videlicet*] om. Savile.

[6] *tibi*] O rex, ins. Savile.

[7] *dixerit*] Here MS. A. has, in a new hand and in the margin, "Nemo "sine vitiis nascitur; beatus qui "minimis urgetur:—et alibi, Nemo "sine crimine vivit." This was taken into the text by the transcribers of MSS. B. and I.; and is so printed by Savile. The story is abridged in G.

[8] *est*] om. I.

"superbia, altera cupiditas, tertia luxuria." Convocatis igitur ad se comitibus et baronibus multis, qui aderant, ait rex: "Audite universi commonitionem hujus hypo-"critæ, qui dicit me habere tres filias pessimas, videlicet "superbiam, cupiditatem, et luxuriam; et præcipit ut "eas maritem. Do igitur superbiam meam superbis "Templariis, et cupiditatem meam monachis de ordine "Cisterciensi, et luxuriam meam prælatis ecclesiarum." A.D. 1198. The king's answer to Fulk.

O nimis indignum miseris inferre cachinnum.[1]

Itaque prædictus Fulco, relicto rege, abiit prædicans verbum Dei, de civitate in civitatem. Cumque, prædicando verbum Dei, civitatem Lexoviensem esset ingressus, clerici civitatis illius, quorum vitam immundam vir ille plenus Spiritu Sancto et operibus bonis reprehenderat, injecerunt manus in eum,[2] et vinculis constrictum in carcerem miserunt. Sed neque vincula neque carceres eum tenere potuerunt: et sic permissus abire, venit Cadamum,[3] prædicans præceptum Domini; et in conspectu plebis multa signa faciebat. Custodes autem castelli existimantes quod placeret regi, injecerunt manus in eum, et victum miserunt in carcerem; et ruptis carcere et vinculis, exivit illæsus, et ibat gaudens, quoniam dignus habitus est contumeliam pati pro nomine Christi; et exiens a castello, excussit pulverem pedum suorum in testimonium supra illos. Visit of Fulk to Lisieux, where he is imprisoned. He works miracles at Caen, and escapes from the castle there. Acts v. 41. Acts xiii. 51.

Eodem anno,[4] v^to. idus Octobris, die Dominica, prece officialium Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus apud Hoveden benedixit Adam in abbatem de Sallaie, et Hamonem in abbatem de Beiland, facta professione et canonica obedientia ecclesiæ Eboracensi, et ejus vicariis, salvo ordine suo. Oct. 11. Abbots of Sallay and Byland blessed.

[1] The story is told by Giraldus Cambrensis also; *Itiner. Kambriæ* (ed. Dimock), p. 44. Walter of Hemingburgh, ii. 229, gives it in another shape, making Walter of Coutances the reprover, and placing the scene at the king's death bed.

[2] *eum*] illum, Savile.

[3] *Cadamum*] An attempt has been made by erasure to alter this word to *Cadomum*, A.

[4] *Eodem anno . . . suo*] om. B. D. I.

A.D. 1198. October. Capture of a French detachment.

Eodem mense Willelmus, cognomento Cocus, serviens Ricardi regis Angliæ in custodiendo castellum de Leuns,[1] cepit de familia regis Franciæ quater viginti servientes equites, et xl. servientes pedites, quos rex Franciæ miserat ad muniendum castellum de Novo Mercato.

Deaths of bishops. Death of Henfrid of Toron.

Eodem anno obierunt Ricardus Lundoniensis episcopus, Johannes Wigornensis episcopus, et Willelmus de Ver Herefordensis episcopus, et [2] episcopus Menevensis, et Amfridus [3] del Turun, primus maritus prædictæ Milisent,[4] uxoris Gwidonis quondam regis de Jerusalem.

Death of the empress Constance.

Eodem anno obiit in Sicilia apud Pannormum Constantia quondam Romanorum imperatrix, uxor Henrici imperatoris; cujus filium Innocentius papa recepit in custodia cum regno Siciliæ, et ducatu Apuliæ, et principatu Capuæ.

Ransom of the bishop of Beauvais.

Eodem anno Philippus Belvacensis episcopus obtulit Ricardo regi Angliæ x. millia marcarum argenti pro liberatione sua.

Richard and Philip fortify two castles.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ firmavit castellum in quadam insula Secanæ, quod appellavit Butteavant: et rex Franciæ firmavit castellum ex opposito illi, quod appellavit Guletut.[5]

Mauger bishop of Worcester.

Eodem [6] anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit magistro Malgero clerico suo episcopatum Wigorniensem.

Alfonso of Leon interdicted.

Defuncto autem papa Cœlestino, Innocentius papa tertius substitutus, iterum suspendit Aldefonsum [7] regem de Sancto Jacobo, et totam terram suam a celebratione Divini officii, propter uxorem suam, filiam regis Cas-

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[1] *Leuns*] Liuns, B.; Lyuns, I.

[2] *et*] Petrus, ins. B. I.; blank in A.

[3] *Amfridus*] Aimfridus, I.

[4] *Milisent*] Milesent, I., the common mistake for Isabella.

[5] *Guletut*] Guletuit, G.; Bulecut, Savile.

[6] There is a change of hand here, which accounts for the unusual form "Wigorniensem." It continues to the end of the year, and is the cursive hand frequently appearing both in text and margin, more frequently still as we approach the end of the work. Most of these short entries are omitted in D. Mauger was bishop of Worcester from 1200, when he was consecrated at Rome, to 1212.

[7] *Aldefonsum*] Adelfonsum, I. See part of the story above, Vol. iii. p. 90.

tellæ; erant enim consanguinei in tertio gradu. Et licet rex ille de Sancto Jacobo obtulisset domino papæ Innocentio et cardinalibus xx. millia marcarum argenti, et obtulisset tenere ad stipendia cc. milites per unius anni spatium ad defensionem Christianorum contra paganos, tali conditione, ut dominus papa permisisset illos insimul morari, donec Deus daret eis sobolem, vel saltem per tres annos; noluit tamen dominus papa Innocentius in hoc illis consentire.

A.D. 1198. The pope will not let the sentence be bought off.

Decimus annus et ultimus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonogesimo nono, qui est annus decimus et ultimus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, fuit idem Ricardus in Normannia apud Danfrunt, die Natalis Domini, quæ sexta feria evenit; et Philippus rex Franciæ fuit eodem die in Normannia apud Vernun; et Otho[1] rex Alemannorum, nepos Ricardi regis Angliæ, fuit eodem die apud Westle[2] in Alemannia, quæ distat a Colonia per novem dietas; quas ipse Otho potenti virtute adquisierat super Philippum ducem de[3] Suave, filium Fredericum quondam Romanorum imperatoris. Et statim post Natale Domini prædictus Otho divisit exercitum suum in duas partes, et duas civitates præfati[4] Philippi obsedit. Reges vero Franciæ et Angliæ convenerunt ad colloquium inter Andeli et Vernun in festo Sancti Hylarii, ita quod rex Angliæ navigio illuc venit ascendendo per Secanam fluvium, et nolens in terram ascendere, de nave locutus est cum rege Franciæ; qui in ripa fluminis in equo residens, loquebatur cum rege

Dec. 25. Richard at Domfront; Philip at Vernon.

War between Otho and Philip of Swabia.

A.D. 1199. Jan. 13. Interview of Richard and Philip.

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[1] *Otho*] Ottho, I.

[2] *Westle*] Altered to *Westfale* in A.; Westfale, G. D. I. MS. B. has *Westfale* over an erasure. Perhaps Wetzlar is the place referred to.

[3] *de*] om. I.; Swave, B. D.

[4] *præfati*] prædicti, Savile.

A.D. 1199. January. A truce for five years between Richard and Philip.

Angliæ ore ad os: et alium statuerunt sibi diem colloquii, ubi in majori suorum audientia, mediante domino Petro de Capua, Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata diacono cardinali,[1] et apostolicæ sedis legato, nec non et aliorum utriusque partis magnatum consilio, statuerunt inter se treugas ab illo festo Sancti Hilarii per quinquennium, bona fide et sine malo ingenio duraturas, rebus et tenementis sic se habentibus ex utraque parte, ut tunc erat; et his factis, sacramentoque confirmatis, unusquisque reversus est in regionem suam, et permiserunt exercitus suos cum gratiarum actione in patrias suas redire.

Marchadeus surprised by the French.

Cum autem Marchadeus cum ruta sua versus patriam suam rediret, quatuor comites de regno Franciæ, per quorum terras Marchadeus transiturus erat, occurrerunt ei in manu hostili, et confecerunt eum, et multos de suos interfecerunt. Sed rex Franciæ factum illud devovit, jurans quod per illum factum non fuit. Deinde dum rex Angliæ, spe pacis et supradictæ conventionis intuitu, versus Pictaviam iret, rex Franciæ firmavit quoddam castellum novum inter Butavant[2] et Guailun,[3] et forestam regis Angliæ circa locum illum exstirpavit. Quod cum rex Angliæ audisset, reversus est in Normanniam, et mandavit regi Franciæ per Eustachium Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, treugas[4] dissolutas, nisi ipse castellum illud novum demoliri faceret. Legatus autem consuluit regi Franciæ, ut castellum illud demoliretur, ne propter hoc treugæ tam solemniter confirmatæ rumperentur: ad cujus instantiam rex Franciæ promisit se in proximo castellum illud demoliturum. Sed Ricardus rex Angliæ minime his contentus, volebat ut ad plenum inter eos componeretur, vel nulla pax inter eos esset. Unde facta est inter eos talis forma pacis, quod rex Franciæ red-

Philip fortifies a new castle during Richard's absence.

Richard declares the truce broken.

Philip offers to destroy the castle.

[1] Peter of Capua was made cardinal priest of S. Mary in Via Lata by Celestine III. in 1193.

[2] *Butavant*] Buteavant, B.

[3] *Guailun*] Guaillun, B. I.; Gwalliun, G.; Gwallun, D.

[4] *treugas*] illas esse, ins. Savile.

deret Ricardo regi Angliæ totam terram quam ipse super eum occupaverat, sive per guerram sive alio quocunque modo, excepto solo castello de Gysorcio; in cujus recompensatione rex Franciæ concessit[1] ipsi Ricardo regi Angliæ donationem archiepiscopatus Turonis: et quod Lodowicus filius regis Franciæ duceret in uxorem, filiam regis Castellæ, neptem Ricardi regis Angliæ: et præterea rex Franciæ juraret, quod pro posse suo juvaret Othonem, nepotem regis Angliæ, ad imperium Romanum perquirendum. Hoc contra, Ricardus rex Angliæ daret Lodowico, filio regis Franciæ, castellum de Gysorcio cum prædicta nepte sua in maritagium; et insuper daret ei xx. millia marcarum argenti. Sed hæc omnia dilationem ceperunt[2] usque dum Ricardus rex Angliæ rediret de Pictavia.

A.D. 1199. Proposed terms of peace between the two kings.

Peace delayed until Richard's return.

Philippus vero rex Franciæ, seminator discordiæ, mandavit regi Angliæ, quod Johannes comes Moretonii, frater ejus, dederat se illi; et inde ostenderit illi cartam ipsius Johannis. Mira res! Rex Angliæ credidit regi Franciæ, et Johannem fratrem suum odio habuit, adeo quod fecit illum dissaisiri de terris suis cismarinis et transmarinis. Cum autem prædictus Johannes quæreret causam hujus indignationis et odii, dictum est ei quod rex Franciæ supradicta mandaverat de illo regi fratri suo. Unde factum est, quod idem comes Moretonii misit duos milites loco sui ad curiam regis Franciæ, qui eum hujus criminis immunem esse obtulerunt modis omnibus probare vel defendere, sicut curia regis Franciæ judicaret. Sed in curia illa non est inventus, neque rex, neque alius, qui vellet recipere inde probationem vel defensionem. Et factum est, quod rex Angliæ ex illo tempore fratrem suum Johannem habuit familiariorem, et minus credidit mandatis regis Franciæ.

Philip informs Richard that John has joined him; and Richard seizes his possessions.

John defies Philip to prove the statement.

Richard is reconciled with John.

Interea Ricardus rex Angliæ, consilio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, abstulit Savarico Bathoniensi

Glastonbury taken from Savaric,

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[1] *concessit*] om. D. I.

[2] *ceperunt*] donec, ins. D. I.

A.D. 1199. and given to William la Pie. The Viscount of Limoges discovers a treasure. April. Richard comes to claim it, and besieges Chalus. He refuses to admit the garrison to terms.

episcopo abbatiam de Glastinbiri,[1] et dedit eam magistro Willelmo la Pie, et ipse factus est inde abbas.

Interim Widomarus vicecomes de Limoges, invento magno thesauro auri et argenti in fundo suo, misit inde Ricardo regi Angliæ, domino suo, partem non modicam; sed rex [2] eam refutavit, dicens se debere totum illum thesaurum habere de jure dominationis [3] suæ; quod prædictus vicecomes nullo modo concedere voluit. Venit ergo rex Angliæ cum exercitu magno in partes illas ad prædictam vicecomitem debellandum: obseditque castellum suum, quod dicitur Chaluz,[4] in quo sperabat thesaurum illum esse absconditum: et cum milites et servientes qui erant in castello, exeuntes obtulissent ei castellum illud, salvis vita et membris et armis illorum, noluit rex recipere, sed juravit quod eos vi caperet et suspenderet. Reversi sunt igitur milites et servientes in castellum, dolentes et confusi, et paraverunt se ad defendendum.

Ricardus rex Angliæ vulneratur plaga insanabili apud Chaluz.[5]

Richard is shot in the shoulder by Bertram de Gurdun. The siege is continued, and Chalus taken.

Eodem die, cum rex Angliæ et Marchadeus circuirent castellum hinc et inde, explorantes in quo loco esset commodius insultum facere, quidam arcubalista nomine Bertrannus de Gurdun traxit sagittam de castello, et percutiens regem in brachio vulneravit eum plaga insanabili: et sic rex vulneratus ascendit equum suum, et ad hospitium suum equitavit, et præcepit Marchadeo, et exercitui suo universo, ut insultum facerent indesinenter in castellum donec caperetur; et factum est ita.

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[1] *Glastinbiri*] Glastingebiri, B. I.

[2] *rex*] om. B. D. I.

[3] *dominationis*] donationis, Savile.

[4] *Chaluz*] Caluz, B. I.

[5] *Chaluz*] Another hand has added in rubric "Cheverel," A. The place is Chalus-Chabrol.

Quo capto, præcepit rex omnes suspendi, excepto illo solo qui eum vulneraverat, quem, ut fas est credere, turpissima morte damnaret, si convaluisset.

A.D. 1199. April. The garrison ordered to be hanged.

Deinde rex commisit se manibus cujusdam medici Marchadei, qui, cum conaretur ferrum extrahere, solum lignum extraxit, et sagitta[1] remansit in carne; et cum carnifex ille circumquaque brachium regis minus caute incideret, tandem sagittam extraxit. Cum autem rex de vita desperaret, divisit Johanni fratri suo regnum Angliæ, et omnes alias terras suas; et fecit fieri prædicto Johanni fidelitates ab illis qui aderant, et præcepit ut traderentur ei castella sua, et tres partes thesauri sui, et omnia baubella[2] sua divisit[3] Othoni nepoti suo, regi Alemannorum; et quartam partem thesauri sui præcepit servientibus suis et pauperibus distribui. Deinde fecit coram se venire Bertrannum de Gurdun, qui eum vulneraverat, et dixit ei, "Quid mali tibi feci, quare me interemisti?" Cui ille respondit, "Tu interemisti patrem meum, et duos "fratres meos manu tua, et me nunc interimere vo-"luisti. Sume ergo de me vindictam, quamcunque "volueris: libenter enim patiar, quæcunque excogi-"taveris majora tormenta, dummodo tu interficiaris, "qui tot et tanta mala contulisti mundo." Tunc præcepit eum rex solvi, et dixit: "Remitto tibi "mortem meam." At juvenis,

The arrow extracted from the king's shoulder.

He declares John his successor: leaves his jewels to Otho.

Words of Bertram de Gurdun.

Constitit ante pedes regis, vultuque minaci,
Nobilitas recta ferrum cervice poposcit;
Sensit rex pœnamque peti, veniamque timeri:
"Vive, licet nolis, et nostro munere," dixit,
"Cerne diem, victis jam spes bona partibus esto,
"Exemplumque mei."

Et sic laxatis vinculis permissus est abire, et præcepit rex ei dari centum solidos Anglicanæ monetæ. Sed

The king orders him to be released.

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[1] *sagitta*] ferrum, Savile.
[2] *baubella*] jocalia, C.
[3] *divisit*] om. B. I.

A.D. 1199. April. He is flayed alive. Marchadeus, rege nesciente, injecit manus in eum, et tenuit, et, post obitum regis, excoriatum suspendit.

Richard's orders about his own burial. Deinde præcepit rex, ut cerebrum et sanguis ejus et viscera sua sepelirentur apud Charrou, et cor suum apud Rothomagum, et corpus suum apud Frontem Ebraudi, ad pedes patris sui.

Ricardus rex Angliæ obiit.

April 6. Death and burial of Richard. Decessit autem viii°. idus Aprilis, feria tertia ante Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, xi°. die postquam percussus fuerat; et sui sepelierunt eum in supradictis locis, sicut præceperat. De morte autem illius quidam sic ait,

Epigrams about him.

"In hujus[1] morte perimit formica Leonem.
"Proh dolor, in tanto funere mundus obit!"

Et alius sic;

"Virus, avaritia, scelus, enormisque libido,
"Fœda fames, atrox elatio, cæca cupido
"Annis regnarunt bis quinis: arcubalista
"Arte, manu, telo, prostravit viribus ista."

Et alius sic;

"Si genus et probitas metas transcendere mortis
"Possent, intrassem non ego mortis iter.
"Stare putas hominem, cui mors ab origine
"finem
"Nunciat, et meus est, ingeminat, meus est?
"Longa manus morti; mors fortior Hectore forti;
"Expugnant homines oppida, mors homines."

Et alius sic;

"Hujus debellare nequivit virtutem magnorum turba laborum:[2]
"Cujus iter, gressus, obstacula nulla retardant,

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[1] *In hujus*] corrected in A. to *Istius in.* B. G. D. have *Istius in.*

[2] *Hujus . . . laborum*] om. B. D. I. G. reads *cujus.*

"Non strepitus, non ira maris, non vallis abyssus, A.D. 1199.
"Non juga, non celsi præceps audacia montis,
"Asperitasque viæ saxis callosa, nec ipsæ
"Limitis ambages, desertaque nescia gressus,
"Non rabies venti, non imbribus ebria nubes,
"Non tonitrus horrenda lues, non nubilus aer:"

Praises of Richard's exploits.

Quin experiretur, quid Siculi, quid Cyprus, quid Saladinus, quidque gens pagana possent in armis:

"Nec pede lento
"Affectum sequitur effectus, sed simul instant;
"Nascitur effectus cum nascitur ipsa voluntas."

Savaric renews his attempts to hold Glastonbury.

Defuncto itaque Ricardo rege, Savaricus Bathoniensis episcopus statim suscitavit litem adversus magistrum Willelmum la Pie, abbatem Glastoniæ, protestans jus suum coram domino papa Innocentio in præsentia universorum cardinalium, dicendo quod Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat ei abbatiam illam Glastoniæ in vita sua habendam, et postea, pravo usus consilio, eam abstulerat ab eo injuste; asserebat etiam constanter, paratus modis omnibus probare, quod antiquitus fuit apud Glastoniam sedes episcopalis, quæ nunc est apud Baa: et petebat sibi inde fieri restitutionem, et ut liceret ei transferre illuc sedem episcopalem, quæ est apud Baa.

Philip takes Evreux.

Defuncto autem Ricardo rege, Philippus rex Franciæ statim bello invasit civitatem Ebroicarum, et cepit; et totum comitatum sibi subjugavit.

March 17. Death of Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow.

Eodem anno,[1] die Sancti Patricii, videlicet xvi. kalendas Aprilis, feria iv^{ta}, Joscelinus venerabilis Glascuensis ecclesiæ antistes obiit apud Melros, ubi ipse exstiterat venerandus abbas; et ibidem in choro monachorum, ex boreali parte ecclesiæ, sepultus est.

The king of Denmark complains to the pope

Defuncto papa Cœlestino, et Innocentio papa loco illius substituto, Cnut rex Dacorum misit nuncios suos Romam ad Innocentium papam, et conquestus est ei

[1] *Eodem anno . . . sepultus est*] om. B. D. I.

A.D. 1199. about Philip's treatment of his wife; and about the divorce.

de Philippo rege Franciæ, qui Botildam sponsam suam, sororem illius, injuste reliquerat, et aliam loco ejus in uxorem duxerat: conquestus est etiam domino papæ de Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, et de aliis episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus Franciæ, per quos divortium factum fuit inter ipsum regem Franciæ et Botildam reginam, post appellationem ab ipsa ad dominum papam factam. Ad instantiam igitur Cnut regis Dacorum, dominus papa Innocentius dedit in mandatis Petro de Capua, cardinali et apostolicæ sedis legato, ut ipse[1] modis omnibus induceret Philippum regem Franciæ[2] ad dimittendam adulteram suam, et ad resumendam Botildam uxorem suam; et nisi fecerit, daret sententiam interdicti in regnum Franciæ.

Peter of Capua sent to settle the dispute.

Primus annus regni Johannis regis Angliæ, annus scilicet gratiæ, M.C. *nonogesimus nonus.*

April. John sends the archbishop and William Marshall to England.

Defuncto Ricardo rege Angliæ, Johannes comes Moretonii, frater ejus, moram faciens in Normannia, statim misit in Angliam Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et Willelmum Marescallum comitem de Striguil, ad pacem Angliæ servandam, una cum Gaufrido Filio Petri justitiario Angliæ, et aliis baronibus regni. Et ipse Johannes perrexit ad Chinonem, ubi thesaurus fratris sui erat, quem Robertus de Turneham[3] habens in custodia tradidit ei, cum castello de Chinun, et castello de Saumur, et aliis castellis regis, quæ ipse custodiebat. Thomas vero de Furnes, nepos prædicti Roberti de Turneham, tradidit Arturo duci Britanniæ civitatem et castellum Andegavis. Convenerunt enim[4] in unum principes Andegaviæ et Cenomanniæ, et Turoniæ, et adhæserunt Arturo duci Britanniæ, sicut ligio domino suo; dicentes, judicium et consuetudinem ter-

He himself takes possession of Richard's treasures.

Angers given up to Arthur.

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[1] *ipse*] om. B. D. I.
[2] *Franciæ*] om. B. D. I.
[3] *Turneham*] Turnham, B.; Thorneham, I.
[4] *enim*] om. B. D. I.

rarum illarum esse, quod filius fratris senioris debet ei succedere in patrimonio sibi debito, videlicet in hæreditate quam Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, pater ipsius Arturi, esset habiturus, si supervixisset Ricardum regem Angliæ fratrem suum; et ideo tradiderunt Arturo Andegaviam et Turoniam et Cenomanniam. Constantia[1] vero mater Arturi, comitissa Britanniæ, venit Turonim, et tradidit Philippo regi Franciæ Arturum filium suum; quem rex Franciæ statim misit Parisius custodiendum, ad Lodowicum filium suum; et saisivit in manu sua civitates, castella et munitiones quæ Arturi erant, et custodibus suis tradidit custodienda.

A.D. 1199. April. The barons of Anjou support the claims of Arthur.

He himself is sent to Paris.

Johannes vero comes Moretonii venit Cenomannum, et civitatem et castellum cepit; et muros civitatis, et castellum, et domos civitatis lapideas subvertit, et cives misit in captivitatem; eo quod ipsi, contra fidelitatem quam ei fecerant, receperunt Arturum in dominum. Johannes autem comes Moretonii fuit in Andegavia apud Baufort die Paschæ, quæ xiv. kalendas Maii evenit.

John takes le Mans and imprisons the citizens.

He keeps Easter, Apr. 18, at Beaufort.

Deinde idem comes venit Rothomagum; et die Dominica in octavis Paschæ, videlicet vii^{o}. kalendas Maii, festo Sancti Marci evangelistæ, accinctus est gladio ducatus Normanniæ in matrici ecclesia per manum Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi. Et prædictus[2] archiepiscopus[3] posuit in capite ducis circulum aureum habentem in summitate per circuitum rosas aureas: et ipse dux coram clero et populo juravit super reliquias sanctorum, et super sacrosancta evangelia, quod ipse sanctam ecclesiam, et dignitates illius, bona fide et sine malo ingenio servabit illæsas, et

Apr. 25. John is invested as duke of Normandy.

His oath to the archbishop.

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[1] *Constantia*] inserted in a later hand in A.

[2] *prædictus*] præfatus, B. D. I.

[3] In margin of A. in cursive hand: "Eodem die Johannes dux Normanniæ fecit [Henricum] fratrem "[Philippi] comitis Flandriæ militem." The names are inserted in another hand, and are wrong. Whether the person knighted was Henry or Philip must remain uncertain. See above, p. 39, note.

A.D. 1199. April.

rectam justitiam exercebit, et leges iniquas destruet, et bonas instituet.

Queen Eleanor ravages Anjou.

Interim regina Alienor, mater prædicti ducis, et Marchadeus cum ruta sua, intraverunt in Andegaviam, et devastaverunt eam, eo quod Arturum receperunt.

The archbishop and William Marshall obtain the fealty of the English to John.

Hubertus vero Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Willelmus Marescallus, qui missi fuerant ad pacem Angliæ custodiendam, fecerunt homines regni, tam de civitatibus quam de burgis, et comites et barones, et libere tenentes, jurare fidelitatem et pacem Johanni Normannorum duci, filio Henrici regis, filii Matildis imperatricis, contra omnes homines. Tamen universi, tam[1] episcopi quam comites et barones, qui castella habebant, munierunt illa hominibus et victu et armis. Deinde Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Willelmus Marescallus, et Gaufridus Filius Petri justitiarius Angliæ, convenerunt apud Norhamton,[2] et convocatis coram se illis de quibus plus dubitabant, videlicet David fratre regis Scottorum, Ricardo comite de Clare, et Ranulfo comite Cestriæ, et Willelmo comite de Tutesbiri, et Walranno comite de Warewic,[3] et Rogero constabulario Cestriæ, et Willelmo de Mubrai,[4] et aliis multis, tam comitibus quam baronibus, fecerunt illis fidem, quod prædictus Johannes Normannorum dux redderet unicuique illorum jus suum, si ipsi illi fidem servaverint et pacem. Sub hac igitur conventione, supradicti comites et barones juraverunt Johanni duci Normanniæ fidelitatem et fidele servitium contra omnes homines. Willelmus vero[5] rex Scottorum misit nuncios suos ad Johannem ducem Normanniæ, petens sibi reddi patrimonium suum, videlicet, Norhimbriam et Cumbriam, cum pertinentiis suis, et ipse fidelitatem juraret ei, et fideliter serviret contra omnes homines. Sed Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Willelmus Mares-

They promise on his behalf that he will do justice to the earls; who thereupon swear fealty.

The king of Scots demands Northumberland and and Cumberland.

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[1] *tam*] om. I.; tam universos, D.

[2] *Norhamton*] Norhamtun, I.; Northamtun, B.

[3] *Warewic*] Warwic, B. Warevic, I.

[4] *Mubrai*] Mumbrai, B. I.

[5] *vero*] autem, G.

callus, et Gaufridus Filius Petri non permiserunt nuncios regis Scotiæ transfretare ad ducem; sed mandaverunt ei per comitem David, fratrem suum, quod ipse patienter sustineret, donec dux venisset[1] in Angliam. Similiter Johannes dux Normanniæ mandavit Willelmo regi Scottorum per Eustachium de Vesci, generum suum, quod in reditu suo in Angliam satisfaceret ei de omnibus petitionibus suis, si ei interim pacem servaverit.

A.D. 1199. April. He is bidden to wait for John's arrival.

Interim magister Honorius, qui regia potestate, et decani et capituli Eboraci malignitate fuerat dejectus ab archidiaconatu de Richemund,[2] quem Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ei dederat, receptus est in archidiaconatu illo a personis ejusdem archidiaconatus; qui ei fidelitatem et canonicam obedientiam juraverunt, expulsis inde[3] officialibus Rogeri de Sancto Edmundo, qui per regiam potestatem, et decani et capituli Eboraci auctoritatem, intrusus erat: et decanus Eboraci et capitulum excommunicaverunt prædictum Honorium, et ejus receptores, propter istam præsumptionem; et dux Normanniæ præcepit, ut omnia jura Eboracensis ecclesiæ essent in eo statu, quo fuerunt die qua Ricardus frater ejus, rex Angliæ, fuit vivus et mortuus.

Honorius is received as archdeacon of Richmond.

The dean of York excommunicates him.

Deinde idem dux Johannes transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam, et applicuit apud Scorham[4] octavo kalendas Junii, feria tertia, et in crastino, videlicet, vigilia Ascensionis Domini, venit Lundonias, in crastino coronandus.

May 25. John lands at Shoreham: goes to London, May 26.

Congregatis igitur apud Lundonias, in adventu prædicti ducis, Huberto Cantuariensi, Johanne Dublinensi, et — de[5] Raguse archiepiscopis, Willelmo Lundoniensi,

Meeting of bishops at London.

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[1] *venisset*] veniret, D.

[2] *Richemund*] Richemunt, I. This paragraph is omitted in D.

[3] *inde*] om. I.

[4] *Scorham*] Sorham, B. I.

[5] *et . . . de*] Blank in A. and I. This is Bernard archbishop of Ragusa, to whom a year or two later the administration and revenues of the vacant see of Carlisle were given.

A.D. 1199. May 27. Bishops and barons present at John's coronation.

Gilberto Rofensi, Johanne Norwicensi, Hugone Lincolniensi, Eustachio Elyensi, Godefrido Wintoniensi, Henrico Exoniensi, Sefrido Cicestrensi, Gaufrido Conventrensi, Savarico Batoniensi, Herberto Salesbiriensi, Philippo Dunelmensi, Rogero de Sancto Andrea in Scotia, Henrico de Landaf[1] episcopis, Roberto de Leircestre, Ricardo de Clare, Willelmo de Tutesbiri, Hamelino de Warenne, Willelmo de Salesbiri, Willelmo de Striguil, Walranno de Warewic, Rogero Bigot, Willelmo de Arundel, Ranulfo de Cestre comitibus, et baronibus multis:

Prima coronatio Johannis regis Angliæ.

Coronation of John.

Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus coronavit et consecravit in regem Angliæ præfatum Johannem ducem Normanniæ, in ecclesia Sancti Petri apud Westmuster, sexto kalendas Junii, feria v^ta^, die Ascensionis Domini; Philippo Dunelmensi episcopo appellante, ne coronatio illa fieret in absentia Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis.

Appeal of the bishop of Durham.

William Marshall and Geoffrey Fitz Peter invested with their earldoms.

Eodem die coronationis suæ, Johannes rex accinxit Willelmum Marescallum gladio comitatus de Striguil, et Gaufridum Filium Petri gladio comitatus de Exsex:[2] qui,[3] licet antea vocati essent comites, et administrationem suorum comitatuum habuissent, tamen non erant accincti gladio comitatus: et ipsi illa die servierunt ad mensam regis accincti gladiis.[4]

Hubert Walter is made Chancellor.

Eodem die coronationis suæ idem rex dedit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo cancellariam suam; qui dum gloriaretur in potestate illa, et multa jactaret de familiaritate regis, Hugo Bardulfi respondit ei; "Domine, "salva pace vestra loquar, certe si bene consideraretis "nominis vestri potentiam, et honoris dignitatem, non

Hugh Bardulf's advice to him.

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[1] *Landaf*] Landa, I.

[2] *de Exsex*] Essexe, B. I.

[3] *qui*] om. I.

[4] MS. A. has in the margin a note in a contemporaneous hand, which has been nearly erased; all that can be read is this, "Eodem die corona-"tionis suæ Johannes rex Angliæ "dedit Willelmo de Braiusa . . ."

" deberetis jugum servitutis vobis imponere: quia nun- " quam audivimus vel vidimus de archiepiscopo fieri " cancellarium, sed de cancellario vidimus fieri archi- " episcopum." A.D. 1199. May.

Interim Willelmus prior de May, et Walterus prior de Insula Sancti Columbæ, et Willelmus de Haia, missi ex parte Willelmi regis Scotiæ, ad Johannem regem Angliæ venerunt: per quos rex Scottorum petiit a rege Angliæ Northimbriam et Cumbriam, cum pertinentiis eorum, de jure patrimonii sui: et promisit quod, si rex ea reddidisset illi, fideliter serviret ei viribus totis; sin autem,[1] totum jus suum, si posset, adquireret. Quibus Johannes rex respondit: "Cum dominus vester rex " Scottorum, carissimus consanguineus meus, ad me ve- " nerit, quod justum fuerit faciam ei, de ista et de aliis " petitionibus suis."

The Scottish envoys claim Northumberland and Cumberland.

John delays his answer.

Deinde Johannes rex Angliæ misit Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum obviam regi Scottorum, sperans quod ipse ad mandatum illius veniret; et ipse interim venit ad Nothingham, et fuit ibi die Pentecostes, et in partibus illis moram fecit, exspectans adventum regis Scotiæ. Rex autem Scotiæ venire noluit; sed remisit ad regem Angliæ Rogerum episcopum Sancti Andreæ, et Hugonem Malebise, quos rex Angliæ pro illo miserat, et petiit ut rex Angliæ sibi redderet Northimbriam et Cumbriam: sin autem,[2] pro certo sciret quod secundum posse suum illa adquireret: et ad habendum inde responsum regis Angliæ posuit inducias quadraginta dierum, et ipse interim magnum congregavit exercitum. Episcopus vero Sancti Andreæ et Ricardus Malebisse secuti sunt regem Angliæ ad mare properantem.

He summons the king of Scots to do homage, and goes to meet him at Nottingham, June 6.

The Scots raise an army.

Interim Johannes rex Angliæ tradidit Willelmo de Stuteville Northimbriam et Cumbriam, cum castellis et comitatibus in custodia, quæ Hugo Bardulfi custodierat, et reddidit Rogero de Lasci, constabulario Ces-

William Stuteville charged with Northumberland and Cumberland.

[1] *sin autem*] sin minus, Savile. | [2] *sin autem*] sin minus, Savile.

A.D. 1199. June.

Pomfret restored to Roger de Lacy.

Stephen Turnham is bidden to surrender the lands of the see of York to the officers of the archbishop.

triæ, castellum suum del Punfrait,[1] accepto prius ab eo[2] filio et hærede in obsidem. Deinde præcepit rex Stephano de Turneham,[3] qui jam fere per duos annos custodierat archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, quod traderet custodiam ejusdem archiepiscopatus magistro Radulfo de Kima, et Willelmo Ward, et Rogero de Bauven,[4] ad opus archiepiscopi. Unde idem Stephanus scripsit in hac forma ministris suis.

"Stephanus de Turneham[5] omnibus servientibus per maneria domini Eboracensis constitutis, salutem. Dominus rex mihi litteris suis mandavit, quod traderem custodiam maneriorum domini Eboracensis magistro Radulfo de Kima, et Willelmo[6] Ward, et cum eis Rogero de Bauvent,[7] ad opus suum. Ita quod exitus maneriorum ponantur in cultura terrarum, et in reædificationem domorum. Quare vobis mando, quod cum[8] prædicti vel eorum nuncii ad vos venerint, eis sine dilatione et difficultate custodiam maneriorum tradatis. Valete."

The king retains the manors until the archbishop's return.

Et ita factum est. Sed rex, pravo usus[9] consilio, firmam maneriorum de termino Pentecostes sibi retinuit, promittens quod in reditu archiepiscopi omnia ei solveret. Archiepiscopus vero Eboracensis, cum per octo dierum itinera versus domum, peractis negotiis suis, ut supradictum est, a Roma redisset; audita morte Ricardi regis, reversus est Romam ad negotia sua secundum casus eventum reformanda.

June 20. John goes to Normandy.

Johannes vero rex Angliæ, peractis negotiis suis in Anglia,[10] transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et applicuit apud Depe, paulo ante festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, die Dominica,[11] et in Nativi-

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1 *del Punfrait*] de Pumfrait, Savile, B.

2 *ab eo*] om. B. I.

3 *Turneham*] Turnham, I.

4 *Bauven*] Bauuent, Savile. Roger de Batvent or Bavent had been under-sheriff to archbishop Geoffrey whilst he administered the county of York. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 25.

5 *Turneham*] Turnham, B. I.

6 *Willelmo*] de, ins. B. D. I.

7 *Bauvent*] Beuuent, D. I.; Bavent, G.

8 *cum*] ipsi, ins. Savile from D.

9 *usus*] est, ins. B. I.

10 *Anglia*] Angliam, B. D. I.

11 *Baptistæ, die Dominica*] These words are run through with a pen in A.; the Sunday before S. John's day was the 20th of June, and on that day John was at Shoreham.

tate Sancti Johannis fuit ipse apud Rothomagum, et confluebat ad eum multitudo equestris et pedestris exercitus: et statim statutæ sunt treugæ inter ipsum et regem Franciæ usque in crastinum Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ. In ipso autem die colloquii, Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, peractis negotiis suis adversus dominum papam juxta animi sui desiderium, rediit in Normanniam, et a Johanne fratre suo honorifice et amicabiliter[1] susceptus est.

A.D. 1199. June 24. He is at Rouen: and makes a truce with Philip.

Archbishop Geoffrey visits him.

Interim Philippus[2] comes Flandriæ devenit homo Johannis regis Angliæ apud Rothomagum, feria sexta ante Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ; et[3] — frater ejusdem comitis Flandriæ resignavit sponte sua in manu Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi præbendam de Huwsthwait, quam habuit in ecclesia Eboraci ex dono Ricardi regis Angliæ. Similiter fecerunt alii quamplures, scientes donationes illas factas fuisse contra Deum, et in sanctæ ecclesiæ detrimentum; et archiepiscopus ille statim dedit prædicto fratri comitis Flandriæ præbendam quæ fuit Petri de Dinan in ecclesia Sancti Petri Eboraci. Prædictus namque Petrus jam electus erat ad episcopatum de Rennes[4] in Britannia. Et archiepiscopus præcepit saisiri in manu sua archidiaconatum de Westrihing, quem ipse habuit in ecclesia Sancti Petri Eboraci; sed Adam de Tornhovere,[5] qui tunc temporis archidiaconatum illum possidebat, cedere noluit, fultus regis patrocinio, et capituli Eboraci auctoritate.

The Count of Flanders does homage to John at Rouen, August 13.

Geoffrey disposes of the preferment of Peter of Dinan.

Dispute about the archdeaconry of the West Riding.

Hardy, *Preface to Patent Rolls.* R. de Diceto gives June 20 as the day of the voyage, c. 706.

[1] *amicabiliter*] amabiliter, Savile.

[2] *Philippus*] Baldwin IX., see above, p. 39, note.

[3] *et*] Blank for the name. The person meant is perhaps Peter of Corbeil, who held a prebend in the cathedral and had claims on the archdeaconry of York; he became archbishop of Sens the year after, having been elected to Cambray.

[4] *Rennes*] Ronnes, B. I. Peter of Dinan, chancellor to duke Arthur; bishop of Rennes, 1199–1210.

[5] *Tornhovere*] Torhouere, A. B. I.; Torhout, D.

A.D. 1199. Philip captures some Flemish nobles, and the elect of Cambray.

Interim Henricus [1] comes de Naumur, frater Philippi comitis Flandriæ, et Petrus [2] de Duay, miles optimus, et familiaris comitis Flandriæ, et electus de Cambray,[3] frater prædicti Petri, capti sunt a familia regis Franciæ, et traditi sunt illi. Petrus autem de Capua, cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus in Francia, in adventu suo interdixit Franciam propter captionem prædicti electi de Cambray; et Normanniam propter retentionem Philippi Belvacensis episcopi: et antequam sententia illa relaxaretur, Philippus rex Franciæ dimisit præfatum electum abire liberum, et Johannes rex Angliæ dimisit Philippum Belvacensem episcopum abire, datis duabus millibus marcis argenti pro expensis in ipso et per ipsum factis tempore Ricardi regis Angliæ, et post mortem Ricardi regis usque ad diem liberationis suæ. Præterea idem episcopus Belvacensis juravit coram prædicto cardinali et aliis viris ecclesiasticis, quod de cætero in vita sua nunquam arma gestabit contra Christianos.

Philip being threatened with an interdict, releases the elect of Cambray: and John releases the bishop of Beauvais.

Arthur knighted and invested with Richard's French dominions.

Philippus vero rex Franciæ fecit Arturum ducem Britanniæ militem, et humagium suum recepit de Andegavia, et Pictavia, et Cenomannia, et Turonica, et Britannia, et Normannia.

Aug. 16 and 17. Conference of John and Philip.

In crastino autem Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, et die sequenti, fuit colloquium inter regem Angliæ et regem Franciæ per internuncios suos, inter Butavant [4] et Guletun,[5] et tertia die sequenti locuti sunt reges ipsi ore ad os. Sed rex Angliæ nullam gratiam invenit apud regem

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[1] *Henricus*] See above, p. 39. It was Philip, count of Namur, according to Rigord, p. 200.

[2] *Petrus*] called a clerk by Rigord, p. 200.

[3] *Cambray*] Cambrai, B. D. I. John of Bethune was elected in the place of Peter of Corbeil in 1199. He was son of Robert V. of Bethune, advocate of Arras, and was bishop of Cambray from 1200 to 1219. There seems to be some doubt whether the person in question were Peter of Corbeil, John of Bethune, or Hugo, a predecessor of both.

[4] *Butavant*] Butteavant, I.; Buttavant, B.; Buteavant, G.; Buttevant, D.

[5] *Guleton*] Guletut, B., Savile; Guletun, D.; Guletruit, G.

Franciæ. Requisitus ergo rex Franciæ, quare sic oderat Johannem regem Angliæ, qui nunquam illi malum fecerat, respondit, quod ipse sine licentia illius occupaverat Normanniam et alias terras. Debuerat enim in primis ad eum venisse, et eum requisisse de jure suo, et inde homagium ei[1] fecisse. In colloquio autem illo petiit rex Franciæ ad opus suum totum Wogesin,[2] scilicet totum quod est inter forestam de Liuns,[3] et Secanam, et riveram de Andeli, et riveram de Ethe. Asserebat enim quod Gaufridus comes Andegaviæ, pater regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, dederat illud Lodowico Grosso regi Francorum, pro auxilio suo habendo contra Stephanum regem Angliæ in adquirendo Normanniam. Præterea petiit ad opus Arturi Pictaviam, et Andegaviam, et Cenomanniam, et Turonicam, et alias fecit petitiones, quas rex Angliæ nullo modo concedere voluit, nec debuit; et sic discordes ab invicem recesserunt. Venerunt igitur ad Johannem regem Angliæ comites et barones de regno Franciæ, qui adhæserunt Ricardo regi Angliæ, et devenerunt homines Johannis regis, et juraverunt ei, quod ipsi cum rege Franciæ non componerent, nisi de consensu et voluntate illius; et ille juravit eis, quod ipse pacem cum rege Franciæ non faceret, nisi ipsi essent infra pacem.

A.D. 1199. Aug. 17. Philip's grudge against John.

He demands the whole of the Vexin for himself; and for Arthur, Poictou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine.

John makes alliance with the French barons against Philip.

Interim Innocentius papa et Romani elegerunt sibi in imperatorem Othonem regem Alemanniæ; et Philippum ducem Suaviæ, et omnes alios electos refutaverunt. Confirmata ergo a domino papa Innocentio, et ab ecclesia Romana, electione præfati Othonis,[4] Innocentius papa excommunicavit Philippum ducem Suaviæ, et omnes fautores suos et consiliarios suos et coadjutores, nisi desistant a persecutione prædicti Othonis, et publice clamatum est in Capitolio,[5] et per totam urbem, "Vivat "imperator noster Otho."[6]

Otho is chosen emperor, and Philip of Swabia excommunicated by the pope.

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[1] *ei*] om. I.
[2] *Wogesin*] Vogesin, B. I.
[3] *Liuns*] Lyuns, D. I.
[4] *Othonis*] Otthonis, B. I.
[5] *Capitolio*] Capitulo, Savile,
[6] *Otho*] Otto, B.

A.D. 1199. Otho promises to succour John.

Otho itaque electus imperator, mandavit Johanni regi Angliæ, avunculo suo, ut ipse modicum temporis sustineret, et differret pacem facere cum Philippo rege Franciæ; quia ipse, Deo volente, faceret illi in proximo succursum bonum, qualem imperialis celsitudo facere posset meliorem.

September. Philip takes Conches.

Interim Philippus rex Franciæ cepit Concas, castellum Rogeri de Toni, mense Septembris.

Death of Queen Johanna.

Eodem mense Septembris Johanna, uxor Raimundi comitis de Sancto Egidio, quondam regina Siciliæ, soror quoque Johannis regis Angliæ, obiit in Normannia apud Rothomagum; et delata[1] ad abbatiam Frontis Ebraudi, ibidem sepulta est inter velatas.

October. Philip takes Ballon.

Mense vero Octobris, rex Franciæ cepit castellum de Balun, quod Gaufridus de Burelun[2] custodiebat, et subvertit illud. Quod cum Willelmus de Rupibus, princeps exercitus Arturi, vidisset, grave tulit, et plurimum increpavit regem Franciæ; dicens quod ita non convenerat inter illum et dominum suum Arturum. Cui rex Franciæ respondit, quod propter Arturum dominum suum[3] non dimitteret facere voluntatem suam de adquisitis suis. Deinde rex Franciæ obsedit Lavardin; sed rex Angliæ supervenit cum exercitu suo; et rex Franciæ relinquens obsidionem, recepit se in civitate Cenomannensi; sed rege Angliæ sequente illum cum exercitu suo, rex Franciæ reliquit Cenomannum, et abiit.

He refuses to give it up to Arthur.

He besieges Lavardin.

John drives him out of Maine.

William des Roches brings Arthur to John.

Interim Willelmus de Rupibus calliditate magna eripuit Arturum de custodia regis Franciæ, et pacificavit eum cum Johanne rege Angliæ, et tradidit ei civitatem Cenomanni, quam rex Franciæ et Arturus tradiderant ei in custodia.

Arthur threatened.

Eodem die dictum erat Arturo, quod rex Angliæ caperet eum, et in carcerem mitteret.

Eodem die[4] vicecomes de Tuaz, qui custodiebat cas-

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[1] *delata*] om. I.

[2] *Burelun*] Burelin, D.; Burlun, G.

[3] *suum*] om. I.

[4] *die*] A blank in MS. A. for the name. Aimeri.

tellum de Chinun, venit ad regem Angliæ per mandatum ipsius apud Cenomannum, et coactus, tradidit regi castellum de Chinun, et senescalciam Andegaviæ; et rex[1] statim tradidit castellum de Chinun Rogero constabulario Cestriæ in custodia, donec rex sibi providisset alium custodem. Nocte vero sequenti Arturus, et mater sua, et prædictus vicecomes de Tuaz, et multi alii, relicto rege Angliæ, abierunt, et receperunt se in civitate Andegavis. Mater vero Arturi, relicto Ranulfo comite Cestriæ marito suo, nupsit Gwidoni de Tuaz, fratri prædicti vicecomitis de Tuarz.[2]

A.D. 1199. October. The viscount of Thouars surrenders Chinon to John.

Arthur and his mother fly from John.

Eodem anno obiit Hugo Glascuensis ecclesiæ electus, sexto idus Julii, et sepultus est apud Geddewrde.[3]

Eodem anno, mense Octobris, Willelmus Mauvaisin[4] electus est[5] in episcopum Glascuensis ecclesiæ.

Hugh elect of Glasgow dies: and William Malvoisin is elected.

Interim Petrus de Capua, cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, qui missus erat ab Innocentio summo pontifice ad dirimendam litem inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Philippum regem Franciæ, ad cujus instantiam præfati reges promiserant se treugas inter se per quinquennium servaturos; sed quia treugæ illæ jam defecerant, morte Ricardi regis interveniente, modis omnibus conabatur, ut treugæ illæ servarentur inter prædictum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ, hæredem præfati Ricardi. Unde factum est, quod statutæ sunt treugæ inter illos usque ad festum Sancti Hilarii.

Peter of Capua prevails on John and Philip to keep a truce until Jan. 13.

Eodem anno Philippus filius Ricardi regis Angliæ nothus, cui prædictus rex pater suus dederat castellum et honorem de Cuinac,[6] interfecit memoratum vicecomitem de Limoges in vindictam patris sui.

Philip, son of Richard, kills the viscount of Limoges.

Eodem anno exstitit in Anglia, et in finibus ejus, tanta aquarum inundatio, quod pontes et molendini et

Floods in England.

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[1] *rex*] Franciæ, ins. Savile.
[2] *Tuarz*] Tuaz, B. D. G. I.
[3] *Geddewrde*] Godewrde, I.; Geddeworde, G.
[4] *Mauvaisin*] Mauveisin, G.
[5] *est*] om. I. MS. D. omits these two sentences.
[6] *Cuinac*] Cuinack, G.

A.D. 1199. Dispute about the rebuilding of the bridge at Berwick, between the bishop of Durham and the Scots.

domus asportabantur. Ponte autem de Berwic asportato, cum ex præcepto Willelmi regis Scottorum comes Patricius custos de Berwic,[1] et tunc temporis summus justitiarius totius regni Scottorum, pontem illud de Berwic[1] reædificare vellet, prohibitum est ei ex parte Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi, ne pontem illum in terra sua firmaret. Pons quidem ille fieri non potuit, nisi firmaretur in terra Dunelmensis episcopi, sicut prius erat. Tandem vero prædictus episcopus Dunelmensis, consilio Willelmi de Stutevilla, permisit pontem illum fieri, et[2] in terra sua firmari, salva conventione quæ facta fuerat inter ipsum regem Scotiæ et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, prædecessorem suum.

The archbishop and chapter of York, submit their disputes to the arbitration of the bishop of Lincoln, the dean of Lincoln, and master Columb.

Eodem anno, Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et Simone decano, et Hamone thesaurario, et Reginaldo præcentore, et Adam de Tornhovere, et Willelmo Testard, archidiaconis, et aliis personis Eboracensis ecclesiæ, in præsentia Petri de Capua, Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata diaconi cardinalis, et apostolicæ sedis legati, constitutis, Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et supradictæ personæ Eboracensis ecclesiæ, compromiserunt se judicio domini Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi, et magistri Rogeri ejusdem ecclesiæ decani, et magistri Columbæ,[3] de controversiis suis; archiepiscopus autem promisit in verbo veritatis, quod si ipse declinasset a judicio prædictorum judicum, daret præfato decano et canonicis Eboraci ducentas marcas de pœna: et decanus et prædictæ personæ Eboracensis ecclesiæ juraverunt præcise, quod a judicio prædictorum judicum non declinarent; sed, quod ab eis judicatum fuerit, devote susciperent et devote servarent. Deinde, cum officiales Eboracensis

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[1] *Berwic*] Berewic, G. I.

[2] *et*] om, I.

[3] *Columbæ*] Master Columba is probably the same person as the Master Columbus who was sent with archdeacon Honorius to Rome by John, in 1206. *Rot. Pat.*, ed. Hardy, i. 57. He was subdeacon to the pope, and appears later in a letter of Innocent III. under the year 1201, below.

archiepiscopi super diversis causis illos coram aliis judicibus per litteras domini papæ in placitum traherent, ipsi petierunt ab archiepiscopo prædictas ducentas marcas argenti de pœna. Dum autem idem archiepiscopus moram faceret cum rege in Normannia, Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Gaufridus Filius Petri regis justitiarius, ad preces et servitia capituli Eboraci mandaverunt regi, et consuluerunt, ne ipse permitteret archiepiscopum Eboraci sine illo in Angliam redire. Asserebant enim, quod si ille in Angliam venisset, gladium mitteret, et non pacem.

A.D. 1199.
The arrangement interrupted.

The archbishop of Canterbury takes part against Geoffrey.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ statuit, quod nullum tonellum vini Pictavensis vendatur carius quam pro viginti solidis, et nullum tonellum vini Andegavensis carius quam pro viginti quatuor solidis, et nullum tunellum vini Francigenæ carius quam pro viginti quinque solidis, nisi vinum illud adeo bonum sit quod aliquis velit pro eo dare circa duas marcas ad altius. Præterea statuit, quod nullum sextercium [1] vini Pictavis vendatur carius quam pro quatuor denariis, et nullum sextercium vini albi vendatur carius quam [2] sex denariis. Statuit etiam, quod omnia tunella, quæ de cætero venient in Angliam, postquam venerint de Rech [3] post tempus præsentis musti, sint de mutatione; et hoc statuit teneri ab octavis Sancti Andreæ [4] deinceps: et præcepit ad hoc servandum, in singulis civitatibus et burgis in quibus vina vendantur, duodecim constitui custodes, et jurent quod hanc assisam facient teneri et observari. Si vero vinatorem, qui vinum vendat ad brocam, contra hanc assisam invenerint, corpus ejus capiat vicecomes, et salvo custodiri faciat in prisona domini regis, donec inde habeat aliud præceptum; et omnia tenementa sua capiantur ad opus domini regis per visum prædictorum duodecim hominum. Si quis etiam inventus fuerit, qui

John's assize of wines.

[1] *sextercium*] sexternum, I.
[2] *quam*] pro, ins. B. Savile.
[3] *Rech*] Reth, G. I.
[4] *Sancti Andreæ*] Decembris, et, ins. B. D.; misled by A., which has *deincebs* for *deinceps*.

A.D. 1199. John's assize of wines.

tunellum vel tunella contra prædictam assisam vendiderit vel emerit, capiatur uterque, et salvo in prisona custodiatur, donec inde aliud præcipiatur: et quod nullum vinum ematur ad regratariam[1] de vinis quæ applicuerint in Anglia. Sed hoc primum regis statutum vix inchoatum, statim est adnihilatum; quia mercatores hanc assisam sustinere non poterant. Et data est eis[2] licentia vendendi sextercium de vino albo pro octo denariis, et sextercium de vino rubio pro sex denariis; et sic repleta est terra potu et potatoribus.

The king of Scots is warned by a vision not to invade England.

Eodem anno, cum Willelmus rex Scottorum esset in proposito veniendi in Angliam cum exercitu, accessit ad feretrum Sanctæ Margaretæ, quondam Scottorum reginæ, quod est apud Dunfermelin, et pernoctavit ibi, et Divino oraculo in somnis monitus, ne Angliam cum exercitu invaderet, permisit exercitum suum domum redire.

De controversia Turonensis et Dolensis ecclesiarum, decisa per papam Innocentium.

Dispute between Tours and Dol about the pall.

Eodem anno decisa est illa vetustissima controversia, quæ fuerat inter Turonensem[3] et Dolensem ecclesiam, super jure metropolitico quod ecclesia Dolensis sibi vendicabat contra Turonensem ecclesiam, in hunc modum. Disposuerat dominus Cœlestinus papa bonæ memoriæ, ut tempore suo vetustissimæ querelæ atque tritissimæ, quæ inter Turonensem et Dolensem ecclesiam hactenus agitata est, finis imponeretur, Domino ministrante. Hac itaque de causa parti utrique diem peremptoriam assignavit, qua sufficienter instructæ rationibus universis, quibus se scirent indigere ad causam, omni appellatione, dilatione,[4] et excusatione cessantibus, apostolico deberent se conspectui præsentare. Sed quia datum non erat desuper ut per ipsum

Day fixed by Celestine III. for the decision.

[1] *regratariam*] regrateriam, B.D.I.
[2] *eis*] om. D. I.
[3] *Turonensem*] Turonem, I.
[4] *dilatione*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1199.

terminaretur quæstio supradicta, sublatus est enim de medio antequam dictus terminus advenisset, dominus Innocentius papa, quondam Lotarius diaconus cardinalis Sanctorum Sergii et Bachi, succedens eidem domino Cœlestino, affectans, quod a prædecessore suo de quæstione præfata per citationem partium inchoatum exstiterat, per discussionem negotii omnino, juvante Domino, terminare: causam ipsam terminandam ab ipso, Divina forte provisio conservarat; pro eadem causa partes Romanam ecclesiam coegit adire. Quia tamen archiepiscopus Turonensis debilitatem totius corporis patiebatur permaximam, ad præsentiam summi pontificis in persona propria non accessit. Discretos siquidem viros et providos, cancellarium ecclesiæ suæ videlicet, et tres concanonicos[1] suos, cum quibusdam aliis loco sui mittere procuravit.[2] Existentibus autem in præsentia summi pontificis, et fratrum suorum cardinalium, Dolenensi electo, et dictis[3] præfati archiepiscopi nunciis, et ex diversis multa hinc inde super juris sui defensione proponentibus; supradictus dominus Innocentius cœpit eos, sicut benignissimus pater cum fratribus suis, ad pacem inducere; et ut spatium deliberandi haberent, utrique parti audientiam per intervalla differret. Et licet ad hoc inducti essent Turonensis nuncii, ut Dolensi ecclesiæ archiepiscopalem sedem concederent cum duobus suffraganeis tantum, ita ut domino Turonensi tanquam primati subesset, et de manu ejus, vel ecclesiæ Turonensis, pallium a domino papa eidem ecclesiæ Turonensi missum, idem Dolensis reciperet, et consecrationem; quia tantum[4] duo episcopatus contigui a Turonensibus nunciis non concedebantur[5] eidem Dolensi electo, pacem hanc nullatenus acceptavit; quæ utique refutatio in ejus redundavit incommodum, ut in sequentibus audietur. Videns itaque dominus papa,

Innocent III. summons the parties to Rome.

The archbishop of Tours sends his proctors.

Innocent attempts a compromise.

The church of Tours refuses to give up two sees to Dol.

[1] *concanonicos*] canonicos, I.
[2] *procuravit*] curavit, D. I.
[3] *dictis*] prædictis, Savile.
[4] *tantum*] tamen, Savile.
[5] *concedebantur*] concedebatur, I.

A.D. 1199. The pope hears both sides.

quod per concordiam non posset prædicta quæstio terminari, citationes et allegationes hinc inde in pleno consistorio licentius ac plenius intellexit. Quibus auditis et plenius intellectis, ad diffinitivam tandem sententiam voluit cum fratribus properare. Sed iterum viam pacis quærens, eos ad concordiam invitavit. Verum cum ad ultimum nil posset in[1] hac parte[2] proficere, pro tribunali sedens dominus Innocentius, fratribus ei assistentibus, sententiam[3] contra Dolonensem ecclesiam pro Turonensi ecclesia, secundo papatus sui anno, publice promulgavit, videlicet, ut Dolensis ecclesia tanquam suffraganea Turonensis ecclesiæ, velut metropolitanæ, omni exemptione seu exceptione seposita, de cætero subjaceret; et episcopus Dolensis ecclesiæ obedientiam et reverentiam Turonensi archiepiscopo in omnibus exhiberet; cum electus esset, confirmationem, et cum tempus exigeret, ab ipso reciperet consecrationem: super hoc generale privilegium, multiplicibus argumentis et rationibus annotatum, ecclesiæ Turonensi concedens, et archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, et quibusdam aliis, super eodem apostolica scripta transmittens. Quæ omnia plenius ex subsequentibus apparebunt. Cæterum cum[4] Dolensis electus contra se datam sententiam audivisset, turbatus, nec immerito, ac tristis plurimum ad præsentiam domini papæ accessit, et se volens dimittere, ipsi domino papæ Dolensem ecclesiam resignavit. Cui dominus papa, cum hoc vidisset, absque mora respondit: "Tu sponsus est, et te sponsa tua exigit. Istud facere "absque nostra licentia, quod nolumus, tu non potes; "tibi in virtute obedientiæ præcipimus, ut post voca-"tionem factam ab archiepiscopo Turonensi, infra quad-"raginta dies ad ipsum, omni excusatione posthabita,

He gives sentence against Dol.

The elect of Dol resigns his claims to the see, and the pope refuses to receive his resignation.

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[1] *in*] om. Savile.

[2] *parte*] procedere nec, ins. D.

[3] *sententiam*] The pope's sentence is conveyed in a letter to the archbishop of Tours, dated June 1, 1199. *Epp. Innoc. III.*, ed. Baluze, i. 388; Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecd.*, iii. 942–959.

[4] *cum*] ut, D. I.

"tanquam ad metropolitanum tuum, recepturus ab ipso "munus consecrationis, accedas." A.D. 1199. He bids him go to Tours for consecration.

Eodem anno magister Gilardus,[1] Menevensis electus, suscitavit controversiam super jure metropolitico ecclesiæ Menevensis, jus ejusdem ecclesiæ, et pristinam metropolitani dignitatem coram domino Innocentio papa tertio, et cardinalibus, videlicet Octoviano Hostiensi, et[2] Portuensi, et Johanne Albanensi, episcopis cardinalibus, et Jordano de Fossa Nova, et Sefredo, et Johanne de Sancto Paulo, et Johanne de Salerno, et Gratiano, et Hughelno, et Hugucione, cardinalibus, publice protestando. Est autem sciendum, quod postquam beatus Dubricius, Urbis Legionum archiepiscopus, eremum eligens, beato David suæ dignitatis cessit honorem; beatus David ex tunc sedem archiepiscopalem usque Meneviam transtulit, et ibidem archiepiscopus factus est; et post illum viginti quatuor ibidem pallio usi sunt, et plena metropolitica dignitate; quorum ultimus fuit Sanctus Samson,[3] qui propter ictericiam passionem, qua peste catervatim homines in Wallia tunc temporis occubuerunt, navigio in Armoricam[4] Britanniam[5] transiens, in ecclesia Dolensi, tunc forte vacante, præfectus est; et pallio Sancti David, quod secum asportaverat, ibidem usus est; qua occasione illa Dolensis ecclesia continue Turonensi ecclesiæ, pallium affectando, rebellis exstiterat, usque ad tempora prædicti Innocentii papæ tertii, cujus anno secundo causa est decisa, et illa adventitia dignitas Dolensi ecclesiæ est abjudicata.

Giraldus Cambrensis claims the metropolitan dignity for the see of S. David's.

History of the see.

Flight of S. Sampson to Armorica with his pall.

Origin of the claims of Dol.

Menevensis autem ecclesia eadem occasione, vel propter ignaviam vel paupertatem, pallio semper hactenus caruerunt.[6] Omnes tamen episcopi Menevensis ecclesiæ, scilicet novemdecim episcopi, a discessu Sancti Sam-

The successors of S. Sampson had no pall,

[1] *Gilardus*] Girardus, G.; Giraldus, I. The famous Giraldus Cambrensis.

[2] *et*] Blank in A. for the name.

[3] *Samson*] Sampson, B.; Sanson, I.

[4] *Armoricam*] Armonicam, A. B. D. I.

[5] *Britanniam*] Britannicam, I.

[6] *caruerunt*] caruit, G.

A.D. 1199. sonis[1] usque ad tempus Henrici regis Angliæ primi, omni dignitate archiepiscopali usi sunt, excepto pallio; et habuerunt suffraganeos septem, scilicet Landavensem,[2] et de Sancto Paterno[3] in Kerdikan, quæ sedes, quia parochiani pastorem suum interfecerunt, olim obsolevit, et Menevensi diocesi est adunata; et Pangorensem et de Sancto Asaf: in Wallia vero ab Anglis dudum occupata trans Sabrinam, Cestrensem et Herefordensem et Vigorniensem. Prædictus vero rex Henricus Walliam regno suo subjugavit, et ideo prædictam Menevensem ecclesiam, et alias Walliæ ecclesias, suffraganeas Menevensis ecclesiæ, ecclesiæ regni sui, scilicet Cantuariæ, subjicere cupiens, Bernardum[4] clericum de camera sua, quem in Menevensi ecclesia Vilfrido episcopo subrogari procuravit, et apud Cantuariam per regiam violentiam consecrari fecit: et hic fuit primus Menevensis ecclesiæ episcopus a Cantuariensi archiepiscopo consecratus; et post eum David[5] et Petrus,[6] a regibus Angliæ compulsi, similiter a Cantuariensi archiepiscopo sunt consecrati, præstitis sacramentis contra canones extortis de non suscitanda lite super jure metropolitico contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam in perpetuum. Bernardus tamen, defuncto Henrico rege primo, movit, quæstionem super jure ecclesiæ suæ metropolitico contra Theobaldum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. Unde papa Eugenius in hac forma scripsit Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo;

but were archbishops.

Their suffragans.

Henry I. makes S. David's subject to Canterbury.

The bishops profess obedience to Canterbury.

Bishop Bernard revives the claim of independence.

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[1] *Samsonis*] Sampsonis, B.; Sansonis, I.

[2] *Landavensem*] Landeunsem, I.

[3] *Sancto Paterno*] See Gir. Camb. *Itiner. Cambriæ*, ed. Dimock, p. 121; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 146.

[4] *Bernardum*] Bishop of S. David's, 1115–1147:—on this phase of the quarrel see *Councils and Documents*, i. 344, seqq.

[5] *David*] Fitz Gerald, bishop 1148–1176.

[6] *Petrus*] De Leia, bishop 1176–1198.

Epistola Eugenii papæ ad Theobaldum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, pro Bernardo episcopo Sancti David, de dignitate ejusdem ecclesiæ metropolitica.[1] A.D. 1199.

"Eugenius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri "Theobaldo, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam "benedictionem. Venerabilis frater noster Bernardus, episcopus Sancti David, ad nostram præsentiam veniens, ecclesiam "Sancti David olim metropolim fuisse viva voce asseruit, et "eandem dignitatem sibi a nobis restitui postulavit. Cum "autem circa petitionem istam invigilans, diu in curia nostra "commoratus esset; tu, frater archiepiscope, tandem, eo præsente, ex adverso consurgens, in præsentia nostra adversus "eum querelam deposuisti, quod debitam, tanquam primo "metropolitano, obedientiam subtraxisset, tibique inobediens "et rebellis existeret, cum[2] a prædecessore tuo, tanquam a "primo metropolitano, consecratus esset, et, viva voce et "scripto, Cantuariensi ecclesiæ professionem fecisset, et in "multis postea, tanquam alii suffraganei, tibi obedisset et "astitisset. Ille vero consecrationem negare non potuit; sed "professionem se fecisse, et obedientiam exhibuisse, omnino "negavit: quod tu audiens, duos testes in medium produxisti, "testimonium perhibentes, quod ipse, illis videntibus et audientibus, post consecrationem suam,[3] et viva voce et scripto, "Cantuariensi ecclesiæ professionem fecisset. Nos igitur auditis utriusque partis rationibus, et diligentius inquisitis, et "testibus tuis studiose examinatis, communicato fratrum nostrorum consilio, juramenta eorum recepimus, et ut ipse "episcopus tibi, tanquam primo metropolitano, obedientiam "et reverentiam exhibeat, justitia dictante, præcepimus.[4] Unde, "quoniam singulis ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis suam "dignitatem et justitiam volumus conservare, Beati Lucæ "festivitate proximi sequentis anni, tibi, et ipsi diem præfiximus, ut tunc[5] præsentibus partibus, de dignitate ecclesiæ "Sancti David, et libertate sua, rei veritatem cognoscamus, "et quod justum fuerit, auctore Domino, exinde statuamus. "Datum Meldis, iii°. kalendas Julii."

Letter of Eugenius III. adduced in proof of the claim of S. David's. (A.D. 1147, June 29.)

He commands bishop Bernard to obey archbishop Theobald; but fixes a day for further hearing.

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[1] This letter occurs also in Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Invect.* ii. 2, and *De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccl.*, Dist. ii.: Opp. III. 51, 52; 180, 181.

[2] *cum*] autem, ins. B. D. I.

[3] *suam*] om. D. I.

[4] *præcepimus*] præcipimus, D. I.

[5] *tunc*] temporis, ins. B. D. I.

A.D. 1199. The pope cites the archbishop of Canterbury to answer Giraldus, and to consecrate him without the unlawful profession of obedience; if he refuses, the bishops of Durham, Ely, and Lincoln are to do so.

Epistolam autem istam prædictus magister Gilardus[1] invenit in registro Eugenii papæ. Cujus rei occasione, et ad prædicti Gilardi instantiam, jus ecclesiæ suæ publice in curia Romana protestantis, Innocentius papa Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum super statu Menevensis ecclesiæ et dignitate metropolitica litteris suis citavit, quas etiam litteras prædictus Giraldus,[2] ad perpetuam rei gestæ memoriam, in ejusdem papæ regesto scribi procuravit. Præcepit etiam idem papa prædicto archiepiscopo, quatenus sæpedicto Giraldo Menevensi electo ita consecrationem impenderet, quod sacramentum illicitum, quale extorquere solebant decessores[3] sui ab episcopis Sancti David, scilicet de non prosequendo jure metropolitico contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam, non exigeret, sed tantum canonicam obedientiam juxta communem formam faceret. Præcepit etiam idem papa Lincolniensi, Dunelmensi, et Eliensi episcopis, quod si archiepiscopus Cantuariensis sæpe dictum Gilardum[4] consecrare differret, ipsi apostolica auctoritate freti illum consecrare non differrent.

Anno Gratiæ M.CC.

Dec. 25. John spends Christmas at Bur.

Eodem anno[5] Johannes rex fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Natalis Domini, quæ Sabbato evenit, et erat illud Natale Domini primum post primam[6] coronationem Johannis regis Angliæ.

A.D. 1200. January. Conference between John and Philip.

Post Natale Domini, idem Johannes rex Angliæ et Philippus rex Franciæ convenerunt ad colloquium inter Andeli et Gwallun: in quo colloquio convenit inter eos, quod Lodovicus filius regis Franciæ duceret

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[1] *Gilardus*] Giraldus, D. I.

[2] *Giraldus*] Here the name occurs first in its proper form in A.; B. has *Gilardus*.

[3] *decessores*] prædecessores, Savile, from B. D.

[4] *Gilardum*] Girardum, G.; Giraldum, I.

[5] *Eodem anno*] Anno gratiæ MCC°. qui erat annus secundus regni regis Johannis, Savile, from B.

[6] *primam*] om. I.

in uxorem filiam Aldefonsi regis Castellæ, neptem Johannis regis Angliæ; et Johannes rex Angliæ daret et quieta clamaret præfato filio regis Franciæ, cum nepte sua, civitatem Ebroicarum cum toto comitatu, et omnes munitiones et castella quæ rex Franciæ habuit in Normannia, die qua Ricardus rex Angliæ fuit vivus et mortuus; et insuper daret ei triginta millia marcarum argenti: et juravit quod nullum auxilium faceret Othoni nepoti suo, neque de pecunia neque de hominibus, ad imperium Romanum adquirendum. Sed hæc omnia dilationem ceperunt usque ad octavas Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

A.D. 1200. January. Terms of peace between John and Philip.

Truce deferred to Midsummer.

Post colloquium illud[1] Johannes rex Angliæ misit Alienor matrem suam ad Aldefonsum regem Castellæ, pro filia sua maritanda Lodowico filio Philippi regis Franciæ.

John sends for his niece to marry Philip's son.

Interim Johannes rex Angliæ transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam, et cepit de unaquaque caruca[2] totius Angliæ iii. solidos de auxilio.[3] Et in Quadragesima venit rex Johannes Eboracum, sperans quod Willelmus rex Scottorum ad eum veniret, sicut mandaverat; sed rex Scottorum non venit, et rex Angliæ rediit in Normanniam.

John comes to England and takes a carucage.

He goes to York to meet the king of Scots; who fails to come.

John returns to Normandy.

Eodem anno Innocentius papa, audita tribulatione Christianorum qui sunt in terra Jerosolimitana, quam induxit Dominus super eos, peccatis nostris exigentibus, in hac forma scripsit omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ prælatis;[4]

[1] *illud*] om. Savile.

[2] *caruca*] carrucata, B. I.

[3] John's visit to England lasted from Feb. 27 to April 28. He was at York from the 25th to the 28th of March. Hardy's *Itinerary of John.*

[4] *Eodem anno . . . prælatis*] om. in. B. D. I. with the following letter. The copy of this letter given in the collection of Innocent's letters by Baluze, No. 270, is addressed to the archbishop of Magdeburg; and dated "ii. kalendas Januarii," vol. i., pp. 515–518.

A.D. 1199. Dec. 27.

Epistola Innocentii papæ de subvectione facienda terræ Jerosolimitanæ.

Papal letter.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis "sanctæ matris ecclesiæ prælatis, ad quos præsentes litteræ "pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Graves "Orientalis terræ miserias et necessitates urgentes jam potius, "peccatis exigentibus, deflere cogimur quam referre: cum ad "eum statum, si status tamen dicendus est casus, quod do-"lentes dicimus, ipsius fuerit necessitati succursum, et occur-"sum conatibus paganorum; pauci Christiani, qui se defen-"sioni hæreditatis Domini, et Crucifixi obsequiis devoverunt, "hostiles sagittas sui sanguinis effusione inebriaturi credan-"tur, et paganorum gladios suis jugulis passuri; reliquiis "desolationis illius terræ sine spe humani subsidii perdendis "totaliter, et ab hostibus occupandis, cum de partibus illis "pene omnes jam redierint peregrini. Id autem hactenus "Dominus Jesus Christus, ut probaret adhuc fortius fidem "nostram, et intelligeret qui sunt Ejus, misericorditer impe-"divit, manus eorum in ipsos convertens, et eos in se multi-"formiter discordantes permittens ad invicem desævire, ut "Christianis interim ad ipsius terræ subsidium excitatis, fa-"cilior daretur facultas recuperandi perdita, et de hostibus "triumphandi. Recepimus enim litteras venerabilium fratrum "nostrorum Antiochiensis et Jerosolimitani patriarcharum, et "archiepiscoporum et episcoporum utriusque provinciæ, simi-"liter et carissimorum in Christo filiorum nostrorum, Aime-"rici Jerosolimorum et Leonis Armeniorum regum illustrium, "et dilectorum filiorum magistrorum Jerosolimitanæ Hospi-"talis, et militiæ Templi, aliorumque multorum, ipsius terræ "miserias et necessitates plenius exponentes, et postulantes "subsidium diutius exspectatum; cum plus ibi speretur, do-"nante Domino, paucos hoc tempore propter Sarracenorum "discordiam profuturos, quam hactenus copiosus exercitus "profuisset. Adjectum est etiam, quod cum inter Sarracenos "de pace tractetur, si, priusquam subveniatur Jerosolimitanæ "provinciæ, inter eos fuerit concordia reformata, nisi Deus "solus resistat, cum sit viris et viribus pene penitus destituta, "non erit qui possit eorum violentiam cohibere. Nos ergo "cum fratribus nostris, accitis etiam episcopis et aliis viris "religiosis apud sedem apostolicam existentibus, de ipsius "terræ subventione tractantes, ne videremur onera gravia "humeris imponere subditorum, quæ digito etiam movere "nollemus, dicentes tantum, et, ut ait, nihil aut modicum "facientes; ut a nobis ad vos, et a vobis ad laicos bene faci-

The misfortunes of Palestine.

The pope has received letters from the patriarchs, bishops, and kings.

He has determined to set an example.

Acts. i. 1. " endi derivetur exemplum, Ejus exemplo Qui cœpit facere et A.D. 1199. Dec. 27.
" docere, decimam partem omnium reddituum et proventuum
" nostrorum curavimus subventioni Orientalis provinciæ depu-
" tare, subtrahentes non modicum necessitatibus nostris; qui-
" bus, cum graviores sint solito, et ob hoc exigant graviores
" expensas, nostræ non sufficiunt facultates; ut Ei etsi nihil
" largiremur de proprio, modicum saltem retribueremus de
" Suo, Qui nobis Sua miseratione tribuit universa: et ut non
" solum in rebus, verum etiam in personis, necessarium Terræ
" Sanctæ subsidium destinemus, dilectos filios nostros Ste-
" phanum tituli Sanctæ Praxedis presbyterum, et Petrum
" Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata diaconum cardinales, apostolicæ
" sedis legatos, quibus jampridem imposuimus signum crucis,
" illuc proposuimus destinare, qui exercitum Domini vices
" nostras exsequendo præcedant, et ad eos tanquam ad unum
" caput recurrant universi. Verum quia id quasi modicum,
" immo vere modicum, ad tot necessitates ipsius provinciæ
" sufficere nullatenus reputamus, universitati vestræ per apo-
" stolica scripta mandamus, et ex parte Dei Omnipotentis in
" virtute Spiritus Sancti, sub interminatione Divini judicii,
" districte præcipimus, quatenus singuli vestrum quadragesi-
" mam partem omnium ecclesiasticorum reddituum et pro-
" ventuum suorum, prius tamen deductis usuris, quarum
" solutio vitari non possit, in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ con-
" vertant. Omnibus clericis, tam subditis quam prælatis, qui
" quadragesimam ipsam sponte ac fideliter solverint, de Dei
" omnipotentis misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri
" et Pauli auctoritate confisi, quartam partem injunctæ sibi
" pœnitentiæ relaxamus, dummodo nulla fraus interveniat,
" et pia devotio suffragetur. Sciat autem se culpabiliter,
" et duriter, et dure culpabilem, qui tantillum subsidium in
" tanta necessitate Creatori et Redemptori suo negaverit ex-
" hibere, a Quo corpus et animam, et universa bona quæ
" habet, accepit; et nos qui, licet indigni, vices Ejus exer-
" cemus in terris, hujus culpæ duritiem nullatenus dissimu-
" lare possemus. Nec aliquo modo credatis, quod per hoc in
" dispendium vestrum legem vobis imponere intendamus, ut
" a vobis in posterum quadragesima, quasi debita et consue-
" tudinaria, requiratur; immo nullum ex hoc vobis præjudi-
" cium volumus generari, qui tantæ necessitatis articulum
" nobis et vobis supervenisse dolemus, et quod simile de
" cætero non contingat optamus. Volumus etiam, et nihilo-
" minus vobis præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus vos, fratres
" archiepiscopi et episcopi, in metropolitana ecclesia, vel, si
" hoc ibi fieri propter hostilitatem vel aliud evidens impedi-
" mentum non poterit, in duobus vel tribus locis provinciæ

He proposes to send cardinals Stephen and Peter to Palestine.

He directs the clergy to contribute a fortieth part of their revenue to the crusade.

He does not intend to make this a perpetual tax.

The bishops are to meet in Council,

A.D. 1199. Dec. 27.

and to hold diocesan councils to levy this tax.

"vestræ, sine dilatione convenire curetis, et inter vos juxta "formam mandati apostolici de ipsius terræ subvectione tractare; et post reversionem suam quilibet vestrum in sua diocesi, concilium convocet sine mora, auctoritate nostra præcipiens abbatibus et prioribus, tam exemptis quam aliis, "archidiaconibus et decanis, et universis omnino clericis in "ejus diocesi constitutis, justa æstimatione proventus et redditus suos taxent; et infra tres menses post factam eis denunciationem, quadragesimam partem valoris eorum, sub ipsius "episcopi testimonio, et aliquot religiosorum virorum, adhibitis nihilominus ad cautelam aliquibus fidelibus laicis et discretis, in locum idoneum ejusdem diocesis non differatur consignare. Quod et nos vobis, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, "sub eadem districte mandamus. Ab hac autem generalitate

Exemption of the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Carthusians, and Grandmontanes from this.

"monachos Cistercienses, Præmonstratenses canonicos, heremitas Grandi Montis, et Cartusienses[1] excepimus, quibus "super hoc mandatum injungimus speciale. Nolumus autem "ut hi, qui redditus et proventus suos diligenter æstimare "curaverint, præmissæ districtionis transgressionem incurrant, "sed qui non ex certa scientia, sed ignoranter potius quadragesimæ forte subtraxerint, dum tamen, postquam recognoverint defectum suum, quod minus solverint, plenarie recompensent. Si quis autem, quod absit, quadragesimæ taliter "solvendæ aliquid ex scientia certa subtraxerit, cum digne "satisfecerit, ab hujus transgressionis debito penitus sit immunis. Nec miretur quisquam, aut etiam moveatur, quod "hoc sub tanta districtione præcipimus, cum summa necessitas id exposcat. Nam etsi voluptarium esse debeat Divinæ "servitutis obsequium: legimus tamen in evangelio de invitatis ad nuptias, Dominum præcepisse ut compellerentur "intrare. Mandamus præterea ut vos, fratres archiepiscopi "et episcopi, quadragesimam ipsam per vestras dioceses ex-

Provision for the safe keeping of the money.

"actam et collectam, fideliter faciatis juxta prædictam formam "in tuto loco deponi; summam omnium per vestras litteras "et speciales nuncios nobis, quam citius fieri poterit, expressuri. Ad hæc in singulis ecclesiis truncum concavum poni "præcipimus, tribus clavibus consignatum, prima penes episcopum, secunda penes ecclesiæ sacerdotem, tertia penes aliquem religiosum laicum, conservandis; et in eo fideles qui-

Church chests to be provided.

"libet, juxta quod eorum mentibus Dominus inspiraverit, suas "eleemosynas deponere in remissionem suorum peccaminum "moveantur; et in omnibus ecclesiis semel in hebdomada pro "remissione peccatorum, et præsertim offerentium, missa pub-

[1] *Cartusienses*] Canturienses, A. G.; Cantuarienses, Savile.

"lice decantetur. Concedimus autem vobis, fratres archiepi- A.D. 1199. Dec. 27.
"scopi et episcopi, ut circa eos qui de bonis suis Terræ
"Sanctæ voluerint subvenire, de discretorum virorum consilio,
"qualitate personarum et rerum facultate pensatis, et consi-
"derato nihilominus devotionis affectu, opus injunctæ pœni-
"tentiæ commutare possitis in opus eleemosynæ faciendæ.

Dispensations from penance may be sold for the good of the fund.

"Volumus insuper ut, adhibitis vobis duobus fratribus,
"ubi poterunt inveniri, uno Jerosolimitani Hospitalis, et alio
"militiæ Templi, et aliis quoque religiosis laicis, et discretis
"militibus, vel aliis bellatoribus, qui signum Dominicæ crucis
"assumpserint, si in suis non poterunt sumptibus transfretare,
"congrua de eadem summa stipendia ministretis, sufficienti
"ab eis cautione recepta, quod in defensione terræ Orientalis
"per annum vel amplius juxta quantitatem subsidii commo-
"rentur; et si, quod absit, in via decesserint, susceptum
"subsidium non in alios usus convertant, sed reddant potius
"in stipendia bellatorum; qui etiam, cum redierint, non
"prius absolvantur a præstita cautione, quam litteras regis
"vel patriarchæ, vel Jerosolimitani Hospitalis, vel militiæ
"Templi magistri, aut etiam legati nostri, vobis exhibuerint,
"de mora ipsorum testimonium perhibentes.

Soldiers to be hired, and poor crusaders to be furnished with money.

"Quia vero summa
"necessitas exigit, et communis requirit utilitas, ut populus
"Christianus non solum in rebus, sed etiam in personis contra
"paganorum incursum Terræ Sanctæ sine dilatione succurrat,
"fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus
"ad exhortandos et inducendos fideles, per vos ipsos et alios
"viros idoneos, prudenter et diligenter instetis, ut qui suffi-
"cientes fuerint ad bellum Domini præliandum, in nomine
"Domini Sabaoth signum crucis assumant; alii vero, juxta
"suarum sufficientiam facultatum, pias eleemosynas largiantur.
"Nos enim de Dei misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum
"Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa quam Deus nobis,
"licet indignis, ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate, omni-
"bus qui laborem hujus itineris in personis propriis subierint
"et expensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et
"cordis egerint pœnitentiam, veniam indulgemus, et in retri-
"butione justorum salutis æternæ pollicemur augmentum.

Indulgence promised to pilgrims.

"Eis autem qui non in personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed
"in suis tantum expensis juxta facultatem et qualitatem suam
"viros idoneos destinaverint, illic per annum moraturos ad
"minus; et illis similiter qui in alienis expensis, in propriis
"tamen personis, assumptæ peregrinationis laborem impleve-
"rint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Hujus
"quoque remissionis volumus esse participes, juxta quantita-
"tem subsidii et devotionis affectum, omnes qui ad subvec-
"tionem ipsius terræ de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt;

A.D. 1199. Dec. 27. The goods of pilgrims to be under the protection of the church.

" personas insuper ipsorum et bona, ex quo crucem susceperint, sub Beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, nec non et sub archiepiscoporum et prælatorum omnium ecclesiæ Dei defensione consistant, statuentes ut, donec de ipsorum obitu vel reditu certissime cognoscatur, integra maneant et quieta consistant. Quod si quisquam contra præsumpserit, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compescatur.[1] Si qui vero proficiscentium illuc ad præstandas usuras juramento tenentur[2] astricti, vos, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, per vestras dioceses creditores eorum, sublato appellationis obstaculo, eadem districtione cogatis, ut eos a sacramento penitus absolventes ab usurarum ulterius exactione desistant. Quod si quisquam creditor eos ad solutionem coegerit usurarum, eum ad restitutionem ipsarum, appellatione remota, districtione simili compellatis.

Renewal of the regulations about debt.

" Judæos vero ad remittendas ipsis usuras per sæcularem compelli præcipimus potestatem; et, donec eas remiserint, ab universis Christi fidelibus, tam in mercimoniis quam aliis, per excommunicationis sententiam eis jubemus communionem omnimodam denegari. Horum autem vos, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, singulos in suis diocesibus exsecutores volumus et mandamus; quæ tam diligenter et fideliter exsequamini, ut in districto novissimæ discussionis examine, cum astabitis ante tribunal Christi, dignam debeatis reddere rationem. Datum Laterani, sexto kalendas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo."

A.D. 1200. January. Philip refuses to receive his wife, and France is put under interdict.

Eodem[3] mense Januarii, statim post Natale Domini, cum induratum esset cor Philippi regis Franciæ, nec blandis nec asperis posset emolliri, ut adulteram suam dimitteret, et legitimam sponsam suam resumeret, prædictus Petrus de Capua, cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, dedit sententiam[4] interdicti in regnum Franciæ, et abiit, præcipiens clero in virtute obedientiæ, ut nulla Divina permitterent celebrari præter baptismata et pœnitentias: sed papa Innocentius, hanc con-

[1] *compescatur*] compensatur, A.; compellatis, G.; compellatur, Savile. Compescatur is the reading of Baluze.

[2] *tenentur*] tenent, A.

[3] *Eodem*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

[4] *sententiam*] The sentence was determined on at a council held at Dijon, on the 6th of December 1199; but not published until twenty days after Christmas, Jan. 12, 1200. Rigord, p. 201; R. de Diceto, 706.

A.D. 1200. January.

firmans sententiam, excepit omnes qui susceperunt vel susciperent crucem peregrinationis Jerosolimitanæ, statuens quod ipsi Missam audirent, et sepulturam Christianorum haberent, cæteri autem omnes Missa et sepultura Christiana carerent. Cum autem rex Franciæ in proposito maligno immobilis persisteret, proposuit dominus papa sententiam illam interdicti relaxare, et ipsum regem Franciæ excommunicare, dicens : "Melius "est ut unus puniatur, quam tota gens pereat." Quo audito, rex Franciæ frequenter misit nuncios suos ad summum pontificem, petens ut sententia interdicti relaxaretur : et quamvis primo et secundo repulsam pateretur, tamen tandem a domino papa definitum [1] est, mediantibus nunciis regis Franciæ et jurantibus [2] coram domino papa et cardinalibus, quod ipse rex Franciæ adulteram suam dimitteret, et sponsam suam Botildam resumeret, et honorifice sicut reginam et sponsam suam tractaret ; si autem infra annum voluerit rex Franciæ divortium fieri inter illos, hoc significabitur regi Dacorum, et cæteris amicis prædictæ reginæ, ubi et quando rex Franciæ voluerit divortium illud fieri, si de jure fieri debeat, ut amici reginæ interesse possint ; et idem significabitur domino papæ et curiæ Romanæ, ut ex parte eorum intersint viri discreti, ut tam solemne divortium juste fiat.

Exceptions in favour of crusaders.

The pope threatens to relax the interdict and excommunicate Philip.

Philip consents to take back his wife; the process of divorce to be begun *de novo*.

Eodem anno Sanctius rex Navarræ, audiens damna et inopportunitates quas Aldefonsus rex Castellæ, et [3] rex Arragoniæ, sibi et terræ suæ faciebant, qui illam fere totam occupaverant, recessit ab Africa, et venit in terram suam, et cepit treugas cum prædictis regibus adversariis suis per tres annos duraturas.

The king of Navarre returns from Africa and makes peace with his neighbours.

Eodem anno, videlicet ab Incarnatione Domini mil-

[1] *definitum*] diffinitum, D. I.

[2] *et jurantibus*] om. Savile.

[3] *et*] A blank in A. for the name of the king of Arragon ; Peter II., 1196–1213. As to Sancho's journey to Africa, see above, vol. iii. pp. 91, 92. This clause is omitted in D., and written in A. over an erasure.

A.D. 1200. Apr. 9. John keeps Easter at Worcester.

lesimo ducentesimo, Johannes rex Angliæ fuit in Anglia apud Vigorniam die Paschæ, quæ quinto idus Aprilis evenit; et paulo post transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam. Interim Alienor regina, mater Johannis regis Angliæ, quam ipse miserat ad Aldefonsum regem Castellæ pro[1] filia ejusdem regis Castellæ maritanda Lodowico filio Philippi regis Franciæ, rediit, recepta præfata regis Castellæ filia. Quæ cum venisset ad civitatem Burdegalensem, et propter solemnem diem Paschæ ibidem moram faceret, venit ad eam Marchadeus princeps Braibancenorum, et feria secunda in hebdomada Paschæ idem Marchadeus a quodam serviente Brandini[2] in eadem civitate Burdegalensi interfectus est. Regina vero Alienor, senio et longi itineris labore fatigata, transtulit se ad[3] abbatiam Fontis Eubraudi,[4] et ibi remansit: filia autem regis Castellæ, et Elias[5] archiepiscopus Burdegalensis, et cæteri qui eam comitabantur, processerunt usque in Normanniam, et tradiderunt eam Johanni regi Angliæ avunculo suo.

Blanche of Castile is brought to Bourdeaux.

Apr. 10. Marcadeus killed at Bourdeaux. Queen Eleanor goes to Fontevraud: Blanche to Normandy.

May 22.

De colloquio inter Filippum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ.

Meeting between John and Philip.

In octavis autem Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ,[6] Philippus rex Franciæ et Johannes rex Angliæ convenerunt ad colloquium inter Butavant, castellum

[1] *pro*] Blank in A. for the name, Blanche, the mother of S. Lewis.

[2] Brandinus was seneschall of Gascony; *Rot. Chart.* 58.

[3] *ad*] om. I.

[4] *Eubraudi*] Ebraudi, B. I.

[5] *Elias*] Helias, B. G.; Helyas, D. I. The name is inserted in another hand in A.

[6] *In octavis . . . Baptistæ*] This note does not agree with the date given subsequently, May 22nd, nor with that of the treaty which is given by Rigord with the date, "mense Maio, in Ascensione Domini," p. 201. He mentions the marriage as taking place the Monday after. The treaty is given below, p. 148. It is probable that Hoveden had named Midsummer day for Ascension day by mistake. The latter was on the 18th of May, and the Monday within the Octave would be May 22. MS. D. omits *Nativitatis.*

regis Angliæ, et Guletun,[1] castellum regis Franciæ, xi. kalendas Junii, feria secunda. In quo colloquio reddidit rex Franciæ Johanni regi Angliæ civitatem Ebroicarum, et totum comitatum, et omnia castella et civitates et prædia quæ occupaverat in Normannia per guerram, et in aliis terris regis Angliæ; et Johannes rex Angliæ statim devenit inde homo Philippi regis Franciæ; et in continenti dedit universa illa Lodowico filio prædicti regis Franciæ, in maritagium cum nepte sua, filia Aldefonsi regis Castellæ.

A.D. 1200. May 22. Philip restores Evreux and his other conquests to John who gives them to Lewis on his marriage.

De matrimonio contracto inter Lodowicum filium Filippi regis Franciæ et filiam Aldefonsi regis Castellæ.

May 23.

Et in crastino, scilicet x. kalendas Junii, feria tertia, prædicta filia regis Castellæ desponsata est Lodowico filio Philippi regis Franciæ, apud Purmor in Normannia, a prædicto Burdegalensi archiepiscopo, præsentibus multis episcopis et aliis viris religiosis, et comitibus et baronibus multis de regno Franciæ. Regnum enim Franciæ erat tunc temporis sub interdicto, propter Botildam reginam, quam rex Franciæ dimiserat. Et statim post illam desponsationem, præfatus Lodowicus duxit secum in Franciam sponsam suam filiam regis Castellæ. Et dum hæc fierent, eodem die Philippus rex Franciæ et Johannes rex Angliæ fuerunt simul ad colloquium apud Vernun,[2] tunc temporis villam regis Franciæ; et Arturus dux Britanniæ devenit ibi homo Johannis regis Angliæ patrui sui, de Britannia et aliis terris suis, consensu et voluntate regis Franciæ; sed Arturus, traditione regis Angliæ, remansit in custodia regis Franciæ.

Marriage of Lewis of France with Blanche of Castile, at Portmort.

John and Philip meet at Vernon.

Arthur does homage to John for Brittany, but stays with Philip.

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[1] *Guletun*] Guletuit, B. | [2] *Vernun*] Werun, I.

A.D. 1200. Abbacies filled up.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ dedit Zachariæ priori de Sancto Albano[1] abbatiam de Burgo, et[2] priori de Burgo dedit abbatiam de Ramessai.[3]

Robert of Dreux dies.

Eodem anno Robertus comes de Drues, frater Philippi Belvacensis episcopi, obiit.

Combusta est civitas Rothomagi cum ecclesia cathedrali.

Apr. 9. Rouen burned.

Eodem anno, in ipsa die Paschæ, quæ quinto idus Aprilis evenit, combusta est fere tota civitas Rothomagi, cum ecclesia sedis archiepiscopalis et aliis ecclesiis multis.[4]

Item de Othone rege Alemannorum.

Otho king of the Germans asks for the counties of York and Poictou, and his legacies from Richard. John declines to give them up.

Eodem anno Otho rex Alemannorum, electus Romanorum[5] imperator, misit Henricum ducem Saxoniæ et Willelmum Wintoniensem, fratres suos, ad Johannem[6] regem Angliæ avunculum suum, petens ab eo comitatum Eboraci, et comitatum Pictavis, quos Ricardus rex Angliæ ei dederat, et duas partes totius thesauri Ricardi regis Angliæ, et omnia exenia sua, quæ idem rex Angliæ ei divisit. Sed Johannes rex Angliæ nihil horum quæ petebat facere volebat, propter jusjurandum quod juraverat regi Franciæ, videlicet, quod nullum auxilium faceret ipsi Othoni contra ducem Swaviæ.

July. Battle at Brunswick.

Eodem anno, paulo ante festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, habitum est campestre bellum inter prædictum Othonem[7] regem Alemannorum et Philippum ducem Swaviæ, apud Bruneswich;[8] in quo prælio Otho exstitit

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[1] *Albano*] Albino, I. He is called by the Peterborough writers Akarius, and ruled from 1200 to 1210.

[2] *et*] Blank for the name, A. Eudo or Yvo. He was abbot from 1200 to 1202.

[3] *Ramessai*] Ramesei, I.; Rameseie, B.; Rameseia, G.; Ramisei, D.

[4] *Combusta-multis*] om. C. G. D.

[5] *electus Romanorum*] om. B. D. I.

[6] *Johannem*] om. B. D. I.

[7] *Othonem*] om. B. D. I.

[8] *Bruneswich*] Brunesuic, I.

A.D. 1200. July.

Victory of Otho.

victor, et cepit plusquam ducentos milites de familia ducis Swaviæ.

John grants fairs at Howden, Northallerton, Buttercram, and Cottingham.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ dedit Philippo Dunelmensi episcopo licentiam habendi singulis annis nundinas apud Hoveden[1] et apud Alvertun. Et Willelmo de Stutevilla dedit idem rex licentiam habendi singulis annis nundinas apud Buttercram,[2] et apud Coghingham,[3] et in eisdem locis firmare castella. Et idem rex dedit Ricardo Malebisse licentiam firmandi castellum apud Queldric:[4] quod cum pene firmaret, cives Eboraci considerantes hoc fieri in eorum damnum et opprobrium, effecerunt adversus Willelmum de Stuteville, tunc temporis vicecomitem Eboraci, quod ipse ex parte regis prohibuit Ricardo Malebisse, ne ipse castellum illud firmaret, et ita remansit.

Richard Malebysse has licence to fortify a castle at Wheldrake, but it is withdrawn.

Feb. 6.

Lawsuit between William Stuteville and William Mowbray.

Eodem anno Willelmus de Stutevilla dedit Johanni regi Angliæ tria millia marcarum argenti pro judicio habendo de baronia Willelmi de Mubrai,[5] quam idem Willelmus de Stutevilla calumniatus est in curia regis adversus præfatum Willelmum de Mubrai.[5] Est autem sciendum quod Robertus Grundebeof, proavus hujus Willelmi de Stutevilla, habuit baroniam illam de adquisitione Angliæ, sed ille Robertus Grundebeof, relicto Henrico rege Angliæ, filio Willelmi Bastardi regis, qui Angliam bello sibi subjugavit, adhæsit Roberto Curtehose, duci Normannorum, calumnianti regnum Angliæ de jure paterno contra prædictum Henricum regem Angliæ, fratrem suum juniorem; et in prælio quod fuit inter illos duos fratres, videlicet Henricum regem

Statement of the case.

[1] *Hoveden*] Howedene, I. The grants are enrolled in the *Charter Rolls*, both dated at Freemantle, Mar. 2, 1200 (ed. Hardy, p. 37).

[2] *Buttercram*] Butterram, D.; Butteram, G. I. The grants are enrolled in the *Charter Rolls*, both dated at Alton, April 23, 1200. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[3] *Cogingham*] Choghingam, D.

[4] *Queldric*] Qweldric, B.; Queldrie, I. Wheldrake, Richard Malebisse has licence to enclose land at Wheldrake (Coldric); by charter dated at Derby, March 31, 1200. *Charter Rolls*, ed. Hardy, p. 42.

[5] *Mubrai*] Mumbrai, B. I. See the *Rotuli Curiæ Regis*, ed. Palgrave, ii. 231.

A.D. 1200. Feb. 6.

Case of William Stuteville against William Mowbray.

Angliæ et Robertum Curtehose fratrem suum, ducem Normanniæ, apud Tenerchebrai,[1] Henricus rex Angliæ exstitit victor, et cepit Robertum Curtehose fratrem suum, et tenuit in carcere usque ad consummationem vitæ suæ: similiter Robertum Grundebeof;[2] et baroniam suam dedit Henricus rex Nigello de Aubenni,[3] proavo istius Willelmi de Mubrai.[4] Præterea sciendum est, quod Robertus de Stuteville, pater prædicti Willelmi de Stuteville, tempore regis Henrici secundi, calumniatus erat præfatam baroniam adversus Rogerum de Mubrai,[4] patrem præfati Willelmi de Mubrai; et convenit inter eos sic, quod Rogerus de Mubrai dedit Roberto de Stutevilla Kyrkebi in Moreshefd, cum pertinentiis suis pro feodo decem militum, pro homagio suo, et pro quieta clamantia calumniæ suæ. Sed quia hæc in curia regis et ejus munimine non fuerant confirmata, prædictus Willelmus de Stutevilla iterum suscitavit litem de baronia illa in curia Johannis regis Angliæ. Cumque super hoc diu certatum esset, tandem consilio regni, et voluntate regis, pax et finalis concordia facta est inter prædictos Willelmum de Stutevilla et Willelmum de Mubrai in hunc modum: quod Willelmus de Stutevilla renunciavit calumniæ suæ quam habuit adversus Willelmum de Mubrai super baronia sua, et Willelmus de Mubrai dedit Willelmo de Stutevilla pro homagio suo, et pro renunciatione juris sui, in augmentum, feoda novem militum, et duodecim libratus[5] reddituum. Et sic remissis omnibus querelis hinc et inde, facti sunt amici coram Johanne rege Angliæ, secundo anno regni sui, apud Lue[6] in Lindissia, villam Lincolniensis episcopi, prima Dominica Septuagesimæ.

In the time of Henry II. Roger Mowbray had given Kirby Moorside to Robert Stuteville by way of compromise.

William Stuteville renewed his claim, and the question was now settled.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ dedit Judæis

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[1] *Tenerchebrai*] Tenerkebrai, I.
[2] *Grundebeof*] Grondebeuf, D.
[3] *Aubenni*] Aubeni, B. I.
[4] *Mubrai*] Mumbrai, B. I.
[5] *libratus*] libratas, D.
[6] *Lue*] Louth. John was at Louth from the 18th to the 21st of January 1201. Hardy's *Itinerary*, ad loc. MS. G. omits from *secundo* to *resisteret* p. 119.

licentiam habitandi Parisius, et in aliis civitatibus suis, quos ipse primo anno regni sui ab eis expulerat. A.D. 1200. Philip allows the Jews to return to Paris.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ, statim post concordiam inter ipsum et regem Franciæ factam, profectus est in Aquitaniam cum exercitu magno; sed non est inventus qui ei resisteret. John visits Aquitaine.

De divortio facto inter Johannem regem Angliæ et Hawis uxorem suam, filiam Willelmi comitis Gloucestriæ.

Eodem anno factum est divortium inter Johannem regem Angliæ et Hawis [1] uxorem suam, filiam Willelmi comitis Gloucestriæ, per Eliam Burdegalensem archiepiscopum, et per Willelmum [2] Pictavensem, et per Henricum Sanctonensem episcopos: erant enim affines in tertio gradu consanguinitatis. Facto itaque divortio inter Johannem regem Angliæ et Hawis uxorem suam,[3] ipse rex Angliæ, consilio domini sui Philippi regis Franciæ, duxit sibi in uxorem Ysabel filiam Ailmari comitis de Engolismo, quam prædictus comes, consilio et voluntate Ricardi regis Angliæ, prius dederat Hugoni le Brun, comiti de La Marche; quam idem comes in suam per verba de præsenti receperat, et ipsa illum in suum receperat per verba de præsenti; sed quia ipsa nondum annos nubiles attigerat, noluit eam prædictus Hugo sibi in facie ecclesiæ copulare. Videns ergo pater puellæ quod Johannes rex Angliæ eam affectaret, eripuit eam de custodia Hugonis le Brun, et dedit eam Johanni regi Angliæ in uxorem; et statim desponsata est

John is divorced from his wife Hawisia of Gloucester.

He marries Isabella of Angoulême; who had been betrothed to Hugh le Brun.

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[1] *Hawis*] Hawisiam, B.

[2] *Willelmum*] This word, as well as *Eliam* and *Henricum*, is inserted in A.; in the same hand however as the rest of the text. Elias de Malemort was archbishop of Bourdeaux from 1188 to 1206: William de Tempier, bishop of Poictiers, died in 1197; see above, p. 24; and the present bishop was Maurice de Blason; Henry was bishop of Saintes from 1189 to 1213.

[3] *suam*] sua, I.

A.D. 1200. John's marriage at Angoulême.

Johanni regi Angliæ, apud Engolismum, per Eliam Burdegalensem archiepiscopum.[1]

De dissensione quæ fuit inter scholares et cives Parisius.

Riot at Paris between the German students and the town's people.

Eodem anno orta est gravis dissensio inter scholares et cives Parisius; cujus origo talis fuit. Erat itaque Parisius quidam nobilis scholaris Teuthonicus,[2] qui erat unus electorum in episcopum de Legis.[3] Hujus serviens, cum in taberna vinum emeret, verberatus est, et vas suum vinarium fractum est. Quo audito, factus est concursus clericorum Teutonichorum; et intrantes tabernam vulneraverunt hospitem domus, et plagis impositis abierunt, relinquentes eum semivivum. Factus est ergo clamor populi, et commota est civitas, ita quod Thoma præpositus Parisius, cum plebe civitatis armata armatus, fecit insultum in hospitium clericorum Teutonichorum; in quorum conflictu nobilis ille scholaris, qui erat unus de electis in episcopum de Legis, interfectus est cum quibusdam suorum. Magistri igitur scholarum Parisius abeuntes ad Philippum regem Franciæ, conquesti sunt ei de Thoma præposito, et de illius complicibus, qui interfecerunt prædictos scholares: ad quorum instantiam captus est præfatus Thoma præpositus, captique sunt complices sui quidam, et incarcerati; quidam autem illorum fugerunt, relictis domibus et facultatibus suis: rex quidem Franciæ iratus, fecit domus illorum demoliri, et vineas et arbores illorum

A noble German clerk killed.

Philip at the instance of the masters of the schools imprisons the provost of Paris.

[1] John's marriage took place in the month of August. His settlement on Isabella is dated Aug. 30. *Rot. Chart.* p. 75.

[2] *Teuthonicus*] Theutonicus, B. I.

[3] *Legis*] Leges, B. I. We learn from Alberic of Trois Fontaines that, on the occasion of the vacancy of the see of Liege, in the year 1200, one portion of the chapter chose Conrad, who was afterwards abbot of Clairvaux; another, Hugh de Vasnadio, who became bishop and sat for 29 years; and a third, Henry de Jacea, the archdeacon. It would seem certain from this that the person meant in the text was the last. See Bouquet, xvii. 605. MS. C. omits the whole story.

A.D. 1200.

fructiferas exstirpari. De præposito autem illo definitum[1] est, quod ipse in carcere regis non exiturus servetur, donec judicio aquæ vel ferri se mundaverit; et si perierit, suspendatur; et si mundus fuerit, abjuret regnum in misericordia regis. Attamen scholares, miserti illius, supplicaverunt regi Franciæ, ut præpositus ille et complices sui more scholarium in scholis flagellati, essent quieti, et facultatibus suis restituti. Sed rex Franciæ hoc concedere noluit, dicens quod multum derogaret honori suo, si alius quam ipse vindictam sumeret de malefactoribus suis. Præterea idem rex Franciæ, timens quod magistri scholarum et scholares a civitate sua[2] recederent, satisfecit eis, statuens quod de cætero nullus clericus trahatur ad sæculare examen propter aliquod delictum quod fecerit; sed si clericus deliquerit, tradatur episcopo, et secundum judicium cleri tractetur. Statuit etiam idem[3] rex Franciæ, quod quicunque fuerit præpositus Parisius, juret quod fidem servabit clericis, salva fidelitate regis. Præterea idem rex dedit scholaribus firmam pacem suam, et eam eis carta sua confirmavit. Præpositus autem ille, cum per multos dies in carcere regis detentus fuisset, per fugam evadere proposuit; et cum per murum dimitteretur, fractus est funis, et ipse ab alto corruens in terram, exspiravit.

Philip threatens him with the ordeal.

The scholars beg that he may be whipped in the schools

Philip makes new regulations for the relations of the scholars and citizens.

Death of the provost.

De Margarito pirata.

Eodem anno Margaritus dux piratarum, quem Henricus Romanorum imperator excæcari fecerat, venit Parisius ad Philippum regem Franciæ, et obtulit ei quod, si ipse consilio suo adquiesceret, faceret eum imperatorem Romanorum, vel imperatorem Constantinopolitanorum, utrum si eligeret. Cui rex Franciæ facilem

Margarit visits Paris, and offers to make Philip emperor of Constantinople.

[1] *definitum*] diffinitum, B. I.

[2] *sua*] om. Savile.

[3] *idem*] om. Savile. Philip's ordinance on this subject may be found in the *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, vol. I. pp. 23-25; dated at Bêtisi, in A.D. 1200.

A.D. 1200.

Having collected a fleet for that purpose he is killed at Rome.

præbens assensum, præparavit itineri suo necessaria, in equis et armis et curribus et supellectilibus. Et Margaritus a rege Franciæ recedens,[1] ut præpararet promissa, mandavit per universos portus suæ dominationis, quod omnes galeæ suæ convenirent apud Brundusium in occursum ejus: sed cum ipse Romam veniret, a quodam serviente suo, quem ipse male tractaverat, interfectus est. Et tali casu interveniente rex Franciæ a desiderio suo fraudatus est.

Death of the archbishop of Mentz.

Eodem anno obiit[2] Maguntinus archiepiscopus, qui in civitate Magunti receperat Philippum ducem Swaviæ in dominum, et eum ibidem in regem coronaverat. Quo defuncto, clerus et populus civitatis elegerunt sibi quendam nobilem clericum[3] de suis in archiepiscopum, et præsentaverunt eum Philippo[4] duci Swaviæ; quem ille refutans, voluit contra voluntatem illorum unum de consanguineis suis ibi constituere archiepiscopum. Unde clerus et populus Magunti plurimum indignati, abjecto duce Swaviæ, adhæserunt Othoni regi Alemannorum, et receperunt eum in dominum; et ipse ad præsentationem illorum recepit electum quem elegerant in archiepiscopum. Et ipse Otho fuit apud Maguntum in Natali Domini in regem coronatus ab eodem archiepiscopo Maguntino. Quo audito, Philippus dux Swaviæ præcepit sibi afferri thesaurum suum, quem habuit in partibus illis. Quod cum Othoni constaret, observabat per diem et noctem stratam, per quam transituri erant homines ducis cum thesauro suo: et illi nihil horum præcaventes, cum iter agerent, inciderunt in manus Othonis, et capti sunt cum thesauro illo: et ita factus est Otho dives ex[5] thesauro ducis Swaviæ adversarii ejus.

Dispute between Philip of Swabia and the clergy and people of Mentz about his successor.

They revolt to Otho.

Otho crowned by the new archbishop at Mentz, Dec. 25.

Otho captures Philip's treasures.

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[1] *recedens*] præcedens, Savile.

[2] *obiit*] Blank for the name in A. Conrad of Wittelsbach; d. Oct. 27, 1200.

[3] *clericum*] Siegfried of Eppenstein, archbishop 1200–1230. The rival candidate was Leopold of Schönfeld, bishop of Worms.

[4] *Philippo*] Filippo, I.

[5] *ex*] cum, Savile.

De prædicatione Eustacii abbatis de Flay.

A.D. 1200.

Preaching of Eustace abbot of Flay, at Wye in Kent.

Eodem anno [1] unus ex consortibus supradicti Fulconis, dictus dominus Eustacius abbas de Flaiz, venit in Angliam a partibus Normanniæ, prædicare verbum Domini; fecitque mirabilia in vita sua. Inter quæ unum opus fecit quod est mirabile in oculis nostris. Venit itaque prædictus Eustacius non longe a Cantuaria ad villam quæ dicitur Wy; et benedixit ibi fontem quendam, cui Dominus tantam infudit gratiam, quod cæci visum, claudi gressum, muti loquelam, surdi auditum, et quisque debilis, qui ex fonte benedicto biberit, sanitatem se recepisse gavisus est. Venit igitur quædam mulier ad abbatem illum a dæmonibus arrepta, et ultra quam credi fas est [2] grossa, quasi morbo hydropico inflata; et petiit ab eo sibi restitui sanitatem. Cui abbas ille respondit: "Confide filia, et vade ad natatoria "fontis de Wy, cui benedixit Dominus, et bibe ex eo, "et recipies inde sanitatem." Et abiit, et bibit, et vomuit, et exierunt ab ea duo buffones magni et nigri, qui statim conversi sunt in immensos canes et nigerrimos, et paulo post conversi sunt in asinos. Mulier autem stabat attonita, et aliquando cucurrit post illos furibunda, volens eos apprehendere, si posset: sed quidam vir, qui deputatus erat ad fontem illum custodiendum, aspersit aquam, de fonte illo sumptam, inter mulierem et monstra illa; quæ [3] statim abeuntia ascenderunt in altum, relinquentia post se fœda vestigia. Mulier quidem ab illa hora sana facta est, magnificans Deum, Qui talem potestatem dedit hominibus. Præterea prædictus abbas veniens ad Rumenel, ubi erat aquæ defectus, et ad preces populi in ecclesia ejusdem villæ baculo suo petram percussit; et fluxerunt aquæ, quarum

Miracle at Wye.

Visit of Eustace to Romney.

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[1] *Eodem anno*] This account of abbot Eustace, down to the word *venerat*, p. 124, is omitted in MS. G.

[2] *fas est*] potest, I.

[3] *quæ*] qui, B. I.

A.D. 1200.

He institutes a reform of Sunday observance in London.

haustus languoribus diversis medetur. Ipse etiam prædicatione sua corda multorum convertit ad usurarum relaxationem, et ad crucem Jerosolimitanæ profectionis capiendam. Lundoniis autem, et in aliis locis multis per Angliam prædicatione sua effecit, quod de cætero in diebus Dominicis forum rerum venalium nequaquam exercere præsument. Statuit etiam Lundoniis, et in quibusdam aliis locis, quod in singulis ecclesiis, ubi facultas expetit, erit semper [1] lampas ardens, vel aliud lumen indeficiens ante Corpus Domini. Et impetravit prædicatione sua, quod multi ex civibus, et ex aliis viris sapientibus, habent quotidie in mensa sua discum eleemosynarium, in quo condunt aliquam partem cibariorum suorum ad opus indigentium, qui non præparaverunt sibi. His igitur et aliis operibus misericordiæ inimicus humani generis invidens, excitavit contra virum Dei ministros iniquitatis, qui dixerunt ei: "Non licet tibi "mittere falcem in alienam messem." Quibus ille respondit, "Messis quidem multa est, operarii vero pauci." Itaque prædictus abbas a ministris Satanæ increpatus, noluit diutius prælatos Angliæ sua prædicatione molestare, sed reversus est in Normanniam ad locum suum, unde venerat.

He inculcates alms-giving.

Opposition to his work.

He leaves England.

The count of Toulouse does homage to John for his wife's marriage portion.

Eodem anno [2] Raimundus comes de Sancto Egidio devenit homo Johannis regis Angliæ, de terris et castellis quæ Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat ei in maritagium cum Johanna sorore sua; ita quod cum Raimundus filius ejus, quem genuit de Johanna uxore sua, pervenerit ad annos discretionis, omnia supradicta habeat, et faciat inde homagium Johanni regi Angliæ avunculo suo; et si ipse sine prole decesserit, revertantur ad comitem de Sancto Egidio; et ipse et hæredes sui post illum teneant ea omnia jure hæreditario de comite Pictaviæ, per servitium veniendi cum quingentis

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[1] *erit semper*] om. B. I. See the story below, pp. 169, 170.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Here MS. G. resumes.

militibus in servitium comitis Pictaviæ, quotiescunque comes Pictaviæ in Gasconiam cum exercitu ierit, per mensem in propriis sumptibus; et si diutius faceret moram, comes Pictaviæ provideat eis necessaria.[1] A.D. 1200. Terms of the homage.

Deinde Johannes rex Angliæ venit Andegavim,[2] et cepit ab ea centum quinquaginta obsides de fide sibi servanda, et misit eos in custodia. John takes hostages at Angers.

Eodem anno Johannes de Oxenforda, Nortwicensis episcopus, obiit; cui successit in episcopatu illo Johannes de Gray,[3] dono Johannis regis; et Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit illum in episcopum.[4] John Gray succeeds John of Oxford as bishop of Norwich.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ dedit Egidio filio Willelmi de Braiusa[5] episcopatum Herefordensem; et Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit illum in episcopum.[6] Giles de Braiose made bishop of Hereford.

Johannes rex Angliæ confirmavit Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo excambium, quod fecit ei rex Ricardus pro Andelud.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ cepit de Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo DC. libras Andegavensis monetæ, et confirmavit ei carta[7] sua omnia illa quæ Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat ei in excambium pro Andely, scilicet villam de Depa[8] cum pertinentiis suis, et Lovers[9] cum pertinentiis suis, et forestam de Aliersmunt, et molendina de Robech. John confirms the agreement made by Richard with the archbishop of Rouen.

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[1] *ita quod . . . necessaria*] written over an erasure and on the margin in A., but in the same hand.

[2] *Andegavim*] Andegavis, D. John was at Angers on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of June 1200. Hardy's *Itinerary*. MS. G. omits this clause.

[3] *Gray*] Grai, I. John Gray was bishop of Norwich from 1200 to 1214.

[4] *episcopum*] apud Londonias, add. G.

[5] *Braiusa*] He was bishop of Hereford from 1200 to 1215.

[6] *episcopum*] MS. G. omits all from this point to *domini papæ*, p. 128.

[7] *carta*] The charter is entered on the *Charter Roll*, and dated June 7 at Argentan: ed. Hardy, p. 69.

[8] *Depa*] Depe, B. I.

[9] *Lovers*] Luvers, B. I.

A.D. 1200.

De concordia facta inter archiepiscopum Eboracensem et Symonem decanum et alios, sed non diu servata.

The judges delegate reconcile archbishop Geoffrey with the dean and canons of York.

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et adversarii ejus, videlicet Simon decanus, et cæteræ personæ ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboraci, convenerunt apud Westmonasterium in præsentia Herberti[1] Saresbiriensis episcopi, et Alani abbatis de Theokesbiri, judicum a domino papa delegatorum; et post allegationes utrinque plenius diductas, præfati judices eos ad concordiam modis omnibus inducere conati sunt; et effecerunt, Domino cooperante, quod idem archiepiscopus recepit in osculum pacis primo Willelmum Testard archidiaconum de Notingham, deinde Reginaldum Arundel præcentorem Eboracensis ecclesiæ, et postremo Simonem decanum Eboracensis ecclesiæ,[2] ea conditione, quod ad invicem sibi satisfacerent de controversiis suis in capitulo Eboraci.

November.

De concordia facta inter Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis.

Reconciliation between archbishop Hubert and the monks of Canterbury.

Eodem anno facta est pax et finalis concordia inter Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ, per Hugonem Lincolniensem, et Eustachium Eliensem episcopos, et per Samsonem[3] abbatem de Sancto Eadmundo,[4] judices in causa illa a domino papa Innocentio constitutos. Sed quia dominus Lincolniensis episcopus diffinitioni causæ interesse non potuit, vices suas commisit domino Rogero de Rollestun,[5] decano Lincolniensis ecclesiæ. Convenit ergo inter illos in hunc modum; quod prædictus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, si voluerit, reædificabit capellam de Lamee in loco illo, sed non super illud

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[1] *Herberti*] Hereberti, B. I.

[2] *et postremo . . . ecclesiæ*] om. I.

[3] *Samsonem*] Sansonem, I. Sampsonem, B.

[4] *Eadmundo*] Aedmundo, I.

[5] *Rollestun*] Roll9, B. I.

A.D. 1200. November.

Terms of the settlement between archbishop Hubert and the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury.

fundamentum quo prius fuerat, nec canonicos sæculares ibi instituet,[1] sed, si voluerit, poterit ibi instituere canonicos regulares de ordine Præmonstrensi, videlicet tredecim ad minus, vel viginti ad plus; et ad sustentationem illorum dabit archiepiscopus, si voluerit, de ecclesiis suæ donationis centum libratas redditus ad plus; et in ecclesia illa neque chrisma conficiet, neque episcopos consecrabit. De quatuor autem ecclesiis, quas bonæ memoriæ Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in proprios usus prædictorum monachorum converterat, sic erit: videlicet, quod Symon[2] archidiaconus de Welle reddet prædictis monachis Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ decem aureos in vita sua nomine pensionis de ecclesia de Munketun in Thanet; et post decessum prædicti Symonis, medietas decimæ bladi et leguminis de eadem ecclesia convertetur ad augmentum eleemosynæ prædictorum monachorum Cantuariæ; et reliqua medietas ejusdem ecclesiæ, et obventiones altaris, erunt in donatione archiepiscopi. Similiter erit de ecclesia de Estreia,[3] præter quod magister Radulfus,[4] possessor illius in vita sua, solvet prædictis monachis pensionem sex aureorum per annum. Ecclesiam autem de Aynesford possidebit libere Johannes Belesmains,[5] quondam Lugdunensis archiepiscopus, in vita sua; et post decessum illius, prædicti monachi Cantuariæ habebunt, ad augmentum eleemosynæ suæ, tertiam partem decimarum bladi et leguminis de eadem ecclesia, et totum reliquum illius ecclesiæ erit in donatione archiepiscopi. Similiter erit

[1] *instituet*] constituet, B. I.

[2] *Symon*] Simon of Wells, also called Simon Sywell or Sutwell; archdeacon of Wells, and afterwards in 1204 bishop of Chichester; he was a canon of Lambeth and rector of Monkton in Thanet. *Epp. Cant.* p. 407.

[3] *Estreia*] Estreya, I.; Estria, B.

[4] *Radulfus*] Ralph of S. Martin, one of the clerks of archbishop Baldwin, who made him rector of Eastry: he was an officer also of the Exchequer. *Epp. Cant.* 342.

[5] *Belesmains*] Belesmeins, B. I. The ex-archbishop, who was a Kentish man, held Eynsford by the gift of archbishop Baldwin. *Epp. Cant.* 343.

A.D. 1200. November. Final concord between archbishop Hubert and his monks.

de ecclesia de Mapeham, præter quod Virgilius[1] possessor ejus reddet inde prædictis monachis Cantuariæ unum aureum nomine pensionis, dum vixerit. Exenia autem quæ monachi petebant de propriis maneriis eorum, remanebunt penes archiepiscopum dum vixerit; et post decessum ipsius archiepiscopi, successor ejus gaudebit possessione, salva questione monachorum. De divisa mariscorum archiepiscopi et monachorum provisum est, ut per sacramentum duodecim vel plurium legalium hominum discernatur, quantum pertineat ad archiepiscopum, et quantum ad monachos; et hoc idem obtulerat eis archiepiscopus multotiens. Concessit autem eis archiepiscopus gratis habere curiam suam de propriis hominibus eorum. Hæc supradicta omnia concessa sunt inter illos,[2] et confirmata, salva auctoritate domini papæ.

September. Hubert holds a great council at London.

Eodem anno[3] Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus generale celebravit concilium Lundoniis apud Westmonasterium, contra prohibitionem Gaufridi Filii Petri comitis de Exexe,[4] tunc temporis summi justitiarii Angliæ. In quo concilio[5] idem archiepiscopus subscripta promulgavit decreta, statuens ea a suis subjectis inviolabiliter observari.

Decreta Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.

Decrees. 1. All priests are to pronounce

"(I.) Cum in Divinis officiis non sine periculo corporum et "animarum erretur, salubri provisione concilii prospeximus, "ut a quolibet sacerdote celebrante, verba canonis rotunde

[1] *Virgilius*] Rector of Mepeham, by the gift of archbishop Richard, at the request of Alexander III. See *Epp. Cant.*, pref., p. xlviii.

[2] The final award is given in the *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, pp. 512–514, dated at Westminster, Nov. 6.

[3] *Eodem anno*] Here MS. G. resumes; but goes no further than *observari.*

[4] *comitis de Exexe*] om. I.

[5] *In quo concilio*] This sentence, with the decrees of the Council, is omitted in B. D. I. G. MS. C., however, contains them. The date of the Council is given by Ralph de Diceto, Sept. 19. R. Dic. 707.

" dicantur et distincte, nec ex festinatione retracta, nec ex " diuturnitate nimis protracta. Non est enim ibi diu im- " morandum propter insurgentes cogitationes, quia[1] muscæ " morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti. Similiter et omnes " horæ et omnia officia aperte et distincte dicantur, ita quod " ex festinatione nimia non præcidantur vel syncopentur. " Quod si observatum non fuerit, sacerdotes hoc non obser- " vantes post trinam admonitionem usque ad condignam satis- " factionem suspendantur. Salvo in omnibus sacrosanctæ " Romanæ ecclesiæ honore et privilegio.

A.D. 1200. September. the canon of the mass distinctly.

The canonical hours to be duly observed.

Quod non liceat presbytero bis in die celebrare nisi necessitate cogente.

" (II.) Non liceat presbytero bis in die celebrare, nisi neces- " sitate urgente; et tunc idem quando in die bis celebrat, post " primam celebrationem et Sanguinis sumptionem nil infun- " datur calici. Sane post primam celebrationem diligentissime " absorbeantur stillulæ de calice, et digiti sugantur vel lingua " lambantur, et laventur reservata lotura in vase mundo ad id " specialiter deputato, quæ lotura sumatur post secundam " celebrationem. Hæc ita se habeant, nisi in prima celebra- " tione adsit diaconus, vel alius minister honestus, qui loturam " sumere possit. His adjicimus, ut reponatur Eucharistia in " pixide munda et honesta, et in pixide munda et honesta " deferatur ad ægrum, linteo mundo superposito, et lucerna " præcedente ac cruce, nisi æger valde remotus fuerit. Re- " novetur quoque Hostia ipsa singulis Dominicis diebus, habe- " aturque certitudo circa ipsam Eucharistiam, ita quod non " sumat non consecratam pro consecrata. His adjiciendum " decrevimus, ut secreto non detur communio Eucharistiæ " impetenti; sed publice et instanter petenti danda est, nisi " publicum sit ejus delictum. Salvo in omnibus, &c.

2. Priests are not to celebrate twice in one day, except in case of necessity and under stringent regulations.

De baptismate vel confirmatione, si dubitetur.

" (III.) De baptismate vel confirmatione si dubitetur, sacro- " rum canonum statuta sequentes, statuimus ut conferatur, " quia non dicitur iteratum, quod non scitur fuisse collatum. " Ideoque baptizentur expositi, de quorum baptismo dubitatur,

3. In cases of doubt, baptism and confirmation are to be conferred.

[1] *quia*] quæ ut, Savile.

A.D. 1200. September. When deacons or lay people may baptize.

" sive inveniantur cum sale, sive sine sale. Adjicimus etiam, " ut nullus teneatur ad confirmationem a patre vel matre, vel " vitrico vel noverca. Et ut non liceat diaconibus baptizare " vel pœnitentias dare, nisi duplici necessitate, videlicet quia " sacerdos non potest, vel absens, vel stulte non vult, et mors " imminet puero vel ægro. Si vero in necessitate puer bap- " tizetur a laico, quod fieri potest a patre vel a matre absque " matrimonii præjudicio, sequentia immersionem, non præce- " dentia, per sacerdotem expleantur. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

De pœnitentia.

4. Great care to be taken about the imposing of penances.

" (IV.) Cum pœnitentiæ, quæ est secunda tabula post nau- " fragium, tanto major adhibenda sit circumspectio, quanto " magis est necessaria post lapsum reparatio; nos sacrorum " canonum statuta sequentes, præcipimus, ut sacerdotes in " pœnitentia diligenter attendant circumstantias, quantitatem " scilicet personæ, et quantitatem delicti, tempus, locum, " causam, moram[1] in peccato factam, devotionem animi pœni- " tentis; et ut pœnitentia talis injungatur uxori, ut[2] non red- " datur marito suo suspecta de aliquo occulto et enormi pec- " cato: idem de marito conservetur. Nullus etiam sacerdos " post lapsum, antequam confiteatur, ad altare præsumat " accedere celebraturus. Id adjicimus ad sacerdotum cupidi- " tatem resecandam, ut missæ non injungantur in pœnitentia " iis, qui non fuerint sacerdotes. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Masses not to be enjoined in penance.

Quomodo archiepiscopus et episcopus et eorum officiales debeant hospitari cum subjectis.

5. Regulation of the expenses of visitations.

" (V.) Cum inter ea quæ statuta sunt a modernis patribus, " Lateranense concilium celeberrimum sit, et omnimoda con- " servatione dignissimum; nos ipsius instituta humiliter ac " devote sequentes, decernimus, ut archiepiscopus[3] parochias " visitans, quadragesimum vel quinquagesimum evectionis " numerum, episcopus vicesimum vel tricesimum, nequaquam " excedant; archidiaconus vero quinque aut septem; decani " constituti sub episcopis, duobus equis contenti existant. Nec

[1] *moram*] morem, A.
[2] *ut*] unde, in A., corrected.
[3] *archiepiscopus*] See the decree of the Lateran Council of 1179, above, vol. ii. 174. Bened. i. 224.

"cum canibus venatoriis aut avibus proficiscantur; sed ita "procedant ut non quæ sua sunt, sed quæ Jesu Christi, quæ-"rere videantur. Prohibemus etiam ne subditos suos talliis "et exactionibus episcopi gravare præsumant. Sustinemus "autem pro multis necessitatibus, quæ aliquotiens superve-"niunt, ut, si manifesta et rationabilis causa exstiterit, cum "caritate modicum ab eis valeant auxilium postulare. Cum "enim dicit apostolus, 'Non debent filii thesaurizare parentibus, "'sed parentes filiis;' multo longe a paterna pietate videtur, "si præpositi subditis suis graves existant, quos in cunctis "necessitatibus pastoris more debent fovere. Archidiaconi, "aut sui decani, nullas exactiones vel taillias in presbyteros seu "clericos exercere præsumant. Sane, quod de supradicto "numero evectionis secundum tolerantiam dictum est, in illis "locis poterit observari, in quibus ampliores sunt redditus, et "ecclesiasticæ facultates: in pauperibus autem locis tantam "volumus teneri mensuram, ut ex accessu majorum minores "non debeant gravari, ne sub tali indulgentia illi, qui pauci-"oribus equis uti solebant hactenus, plurium[1] sibi credant "potestatem indultam.[2] Spectat autem ad visitationis officium "ea inprimis, quæ ad salutem animarum pertinent, cum omni "diligentia procurare, et ut unaquæque ecclesia habeat cali-"cem argenteum, et vestimenta sacerdotalia sufficientia et "honesta, et libros necessarios, et utensilia et cætera quæ "spectant ad cultum et reverentiam sacramenti. Sane ad "præcidendum tam avaritiæ quam negligentiæ vitium, auc-"toritate Toletani concilii subnixi,[3] præcipimus ut visitator "ab ecclesia, in qua visitationis officium debito modo non "exercet, procurationem aut procurationis redemptionem exi-"gere non præsumat. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

A.D. 1200. September. Bishops not to be severe in exaction of procurations.

2 Cor. xii. 14.

Archdeacons or rural deans not to tax the clergy.

Points to be inquired into at visitations.

Ne quis ordinetur sine certo titulo.

"(VI.) Illud etiam juxta tenorem Lateranensis concilii fir-"miter observari præcipimus, ut si episcopus[4] aliquem sine "certo titulo in diaconum vel presbyterum ordinaverit, tam "diu ei subministret, donec ei in aliqua ecclesia convenientia

6. No one to be ordained without a title.

[1] *plurium*] plurimum, A.; plurimam, Savile.

[2] *indultam*] So far the Lateran Canon.

[3] See the Decretum, pt. ii. caus. 10, qu. 1, cap. 9.

[4] *si episcopus*] See the Lateran Canon; above, vol. ii. 185; Bened. i. 234; the extract ends with the word *habere*.

A.D. 1200. September. Subdeacons not to be ordained without due precaution.

" stipendia militiæ clericali assignet, nisi forte talis, qui ordi- " natur, exstiterit, qui de sua vel paterna hæreditate subsidia " vitæ possit habere. Idem in subdiaconi ordinatione statui- " mus, adjungentes, ut si archidiaconus citra speciale manda- " tum episcopi sui aliquem prædictorum ordinationi præsen- " taverit, et is ad ejus præsentationem ordinatus fuerit, " prædictæ pœnæ subjaceat. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Quod non liceat prælatis suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam proferre in subjectos nisi canonica commonitio præcedat.

7. Superiors are not to excommunicate or inferiors to appeal, in order to defeat the due course of justice.

" (VII.) Rursus Lateranensis concilii statuta sequentes, præ- " cipimus,[1] ut nec prælati, nisi canonica commonitione præ- " missa, suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam profe- " rant in subjectos, nisi forte talis sit culpa, quæ in ipso " genere suo excommunicationis pœnam inducat: nec subjecti " contra disciplinam ecclesiasticam ante ingressum causæ in " vocem appellationis prorumpant. Si vero quisquam pro sua " necessitate crediderit appellandum, competens ei ad prose- " quendam appellationem terminus præfigatur, infra quem si " prosequi forte neglexerit, libere tunc episcopus auctoritate " sua utatur. Si autem in quocunque negotio aliquis appel- " laverit, et eo qui appellatus fuerit veniente, qui appella- " verit venire neglexerit; si proprium quid habuerit, com- " petentem illi recompensationem faciat expensarum; ut hoc " saltem timore perterritus, in gravamen alterius non facile " quis appellet: præcipue vero in locis religiosis[2] hoc vo- " lumus observari; ne monachi sive quicunque religiosi, cum " pro aliquo excessu fuerint corrigendi, contra regularem " prælati sui et capituli disciplinam appellare præsumant, " sed humiliter ac devote suscipiant, quod pro salute sua " eis fuerit injunctum.[3] Ad reprimendam etiam multorum " malitiam, his duximus adnectendum, ut singulis annis in " genere solemniter excommunicentur sorciarii, perjuri supra " sacramenta, incendiarii, fures, atrociores raptores. Ita ut, " qui scienter in dispendium cujuslibet pejeraverint,[4] non ab-

This rule applies especially to the religious.

[1] From the second canon of the Lateran Council as given in Vol. ii. p. 172. Bened. i. 223.

[2] *religiosis*] om. A.

[3] *injunctum*] The Lateran canon ends with this word.

[4] *pejeraverint*] pejoraverint, A.

"solvantur; nec eis pœnitentia ab aliquo injungatur, nisi "ab episcopo diocesano, vel ejus auctoritate, præterquam in "articulo mortis; et tunc eis injungatur, quod ex quo conva-"luerint, episcopum adeant, ab eo vel ejus auctoritate pœni-"tentiam suscepturi. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

A.D. 1200. September.

Prohibetur ne aliquid exigatur pro sacramentis ecclesiæ.

"(VIII.) Sicut in Lateranensi concilio salubriter a sanctis "patribus est provisum, inhibemus[1] ne a personis ecclesiasticis "deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus vel aliis clericis insti-"tuendis, aut sepeliendis mortuis, aut benedicendis nubentibus, "seu pro chrismate, seu quibuslibet aliis sacramentis, aliquid "exigatur. Si quis autem contra hoc venire præsumpserit, "portionem cum Giezi se noverit habiturum; cujus factum "exactione turpi muneris imitatur. His adjicimus ne pro "licentia celebrandi Divina a sacerdotibus, vel docendi a "magistris, aliquid exigatur, et, si solutum fuerit, repetatur.[2] "De ejusdem etiam auctoritate concilii prohibemus, ne novi "census ab episcopis vel abbatibus aliisve prælatis impo-"nantur ecclesiis, nec veteres augeantur, nec partem reddi-"tuum suis usibus applicare præsumant; sed libertatem quam "majores sibi conservari desiderant, minoribus quoque suis "bona voluntate conservent. Si quis autem aliter egerit, "irritum quod fecerit habeatur.[3] Nulla insuper[4] ecclesiastica "ministeria, seu etiam beneficia vel ecclesiæ, alicui tribuantur "vel promittantur, antequam vacent; ne desiderare quis "proximi sui mortem videatur, in cujus locum vel beneficium "se credit successurum. Cum enim et in ipsis locis gentilium "legibus inveniatur prohibitum, turpe nimis est, et Divini "plenum animadversione judicii, si in[5] ecclesia Dei futuræ "successionis exspectatio locum habeat, quam et condemnare "ipsi gentiles homines curaverunt. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

8. No fees are to be taken for the sacraments.

Nor for licences for Divine service, or to teachers.

New taxes not to be imposed.

Benefices not to be given or promised before they are vacant.

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[1] See the Lateran Canon in Vol. ii. p. 174. Bened. i. 225.

[2] *His adjicimus . . . . repetatur*] An addition to the Lateran Canon: compare however Vol. ii. p. 187.

[3] *De ejusdem . . . habeatur*] From the Canon.

[4] *Nulla insuper*] From another canon, Vol. ii. 185. Bened. i. 233.

[5] *in*] om. A.

A.D. 1200. September.

Ne decima minuatur occasione mercedis servientum vel messorum.

9. No deduction is to be made from tithe in consideration of the reapers' wages.

" (IX.) Cum Deo et sacerdotibus Dei decimas dandas, " Abraham factis et Jacob promissis insinuent; et auctoritas " Veteris et Novi Testamenti, nec non et sanctorum patrum " statuta declarent, decimas de omnibus quæ per annum reno- " vantur præstandas; id inviolabiliter decernimus observan- " dum, ita quod occasione mercedis servientum vel messorum " decima pars non minuatur, sed potius integre persolvatur. " Habeant etiam presbyteri potestatem ante auctumnum ex- " communicandi omnes fraudatores decimarum suarum, et eos- " dem secundum formam ecclesiasticam absolvendi. Huic " adjicimus sanctioni, ut de terris noviter excultis non alias " dentur decimæ, quam ecclesiis parochialibus, infra quarum " limites terræ illæ, de quibus decimæ perveniunt, excoluntur. " Detentores vero decimarum, juxta Rothomagensis[1] concilii " constitutum, si semel, secundo et tertio commoniti, exces- " sum suum non emendaverint, usque ad satisfactionem con- " dignam anathematis vinculo feriantur. Salvo in omnibus, " etc.

Against defrauders and detainers of tithes.

Ne clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti focarias habeant.

9. Clergy are to perform the duties of their cure: not to keep women in their houses, or to frequent taverns.

" (X.) Statuimus, ut in ecclesia, cujus redditus annuus " quantitatem trium marcarum non excedit, nullus instituatur, " nisi qui in propria persona ibidem voluerit deservire. Sta- " tuta etiam Lateranensis concilii reverenter amplectentes, " decernimus ut clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti, si " mulierculas in domibus suis sub incontinentiæ vota tenue- " rint, aut abjiciant eas, et continenter vivant, aut ab officio " et beneficio ecclesiastico fiant alieni.[2] His etiam adnecti- " mus, ut clerici non intersint tabernis et publicis potatio- " nibus. Hinc etenim accidunt contentiones et rixæ, ade " quod laici quandoque clericos verberantes, incidant in ca- " nonem. Qui cum ad papam mittantur, non est æquum ut[3]

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[1] *Rothomagensis*] Canon III. of the Council of Rouen (date uncertain), incorporated in the Decretum, pt. ii. caus. 16, qu. 7, cap. 5.

[2] *decernimus . . . alieni*] See Vol. ii. p. 186. Bened. i. 234.

[3] *ut*] quod, Savile.

" clerici, qui culpa sua quodammodo tamen dedere delictum, " maneant impuniti. Clerici etiam omnes habitum habeant " clericalem, et tonsuram canonicam. Archidiaconi autem, " et alii in dignitatibus constituti, et presbyteri cappis ma-" nicatis non[1] utantur. Salvo in omnibus, etc. A.D. 1200. September. Of the dress of the clergy.

Quales personæ debeant contrahere matrimonium.

" (XI.) Vir non contrahat cum aliqua consanguinea olim " uxoris suæ; similiter nec uxor cum aliquo consanguineo " quondam viri sui. Et susceptus in baptismo, non contrahat " cum filia baptizantis vel suscipientis, ante vel post genita. " Nec contrahatur aliquod matrimonium sine trina denuncia-" tione publica in ecclesia, neque si fuerint personæ incog-" nitæ. Sed nec copulentur aliquæ personæ matrimonio, nisi " publice in facie ecclesiæ, et præsente sacerdote; et si secus " factum fuerit, non admittantur alicubi in ecclesia, nisi speciali " auctoritate episcopi. Nulli etiam conjugatorum liceat iter " remotæ[2] peregrinationis arripere, nisi mutuo consensu " publicato. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

11. Restrictions on marriage.

Banns to be thrice published.

Married people not to go long pilgrimages, but by consent.

Diffamatis publica fama indicatur purgatio.

" (XII.) Diffamati fama publica, vel verisimilibus indiciis " super crimine, de quo vinci non possunt, commoneantur " semel, secundo et tertio, ut confiteantur et satisfaciant: si " vero incorrecti in negatione perstiterint, indicatur eis pur-" gatio, et non occasione pecuniæ captandæ differatur de die " in diem, sed statim primo die, si parata fuerit, suscipiatur, " et canonicum numerum non excedat. Salvo, etc.

12. Persons of bad character to be compelled to purgation.

Ut leprosi cimiterium et proprium habeant capellanum.

" (XIII.) Affectu pietatis inducti, concilii Lateranensis[3] " etiam institutione suffulti, decernimus, ut ubicunque tot " leprosi simul fuerint congregati, qui ecclesiam cum cimi-" terio sibi construere, et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero, " sine contradictione aliqua habere permittantur. Caveant " tamen ut injuriosi veteribus ecclesiis non existant. Quod " enim eis pro pietate conceditur, ad aliorum injuriam nolu-

13. Lepers may have their church, churchyard, and priest.

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[1] *non*] om. Savile.
[2] *remotæ*] remotum, Savile.
[3] See the Canon in Vol. ii. p. 180. Bened. i. 229.

A.D. 1200. September. Gardens and cattle-food not to be forced to pay tithe.

" mus redundare. Statuimus etiam, ut de hortis et[1] nutri-" mentis animalium suorum decimas tribuere non cogantur. " Salvo in omnibus, ect.

Ne aliquis sine episcopali auctoritate ecclesiastica beneficia de manu laica recipiat.

14. Hospitallers, Templars, and other religious are not to try to defeat the bishops' jurisdiction; nor to make an unwarranted use of their privileges.

" (XIV.) Lateranensis concilii tenore perpenso decernimus,[2] " ne fratres Templi vel Hospitalis, sive quicunque alii reli-" giosi, ecclesias vel decimas, vel alia beneficia ecclesiastica, " sine episcopali auctoritate de manu laica recipiant; dimissis " etiam, quas contra tenorem istum moderno tempore recepe-" runt: excommunicatos et nominatim interdictos tanquam ab " omnibus aliis, juxta sententiam episcoporum, statuimus evi-" tandos. In ecclesiis suis, quæ ad eos pleno jure non perti-" nent, instituendos presbyteros episcopis præsentent; ut eis " quidem de plebis cura respondeant, ipsis vero pro rebus " temporalibus rationem exhibeant competentem. Institutos " autem, inconsultis episcopis, non audeant removere. Si vero " Templarii sive Hospitalarii ad ecclesiam interdictam vene-" rint, non nisi semel in anno ad ecclesiasticum admittantur " officium, nec tunc ibi corpora sepelient defunctorum inter-" dictorum. De fraternitatibus autem hæc constituimus, ut, " si non se prædictis fratribus omnino reddiderint, sed in " proprietatibus suis duxerint remanendum, propter hoc ab " episcoporum sententia nullatenus eximantur, sed potestatem " suam sicut in alios parochianos suos exerceant, cum de " excessibus suis fuerint corrigendi. Quod autem de prædic-" tis fratribus dictum est, ab aliis quoque religiosis, qui præ-" sumptione sua episcoporum jura præripiunt, et contra cano-" nicas eorum sententias, et tenorem privilegiorum suorum " venire præsumant, præcipimus observari. Si autem contra " hoc statutum venerint, et ecclesiæ, in quibus ista præsump-" serint, subjiciantur interdicto, et quod egerint, ejusdem " auctoritate concilii irritum habeatur et vacuum. Monachi[3] " etiam sub pretio non recipiantur in monasterio; non[4] pecu-" lium habere permittantur, non[4] singuli per villas et oppida, " sive quascunque parochiales ponantur ecclesias; sed in ma-" jore conventu aut cum aliquibus fratribus maneant, nec soli " inter sæculares homines spiritualium hostium afflictum ex-

Monks are not to be taken into monasteries for money or to have private property.

[1] *hortis et*] ortis, Savile.

[2] *decernimus*] See Vol. ii. p. 188. Bened. i. 236, 237.

[3] *Monachi*] From another canon, Vol. ii. 181; Bened. i. 230.

[4] *non*] nec, Savile.

A.D. 1200. September.

" pectent, Salomone dicente, 'Væ soli, quia si ceciderit, non " 'habebit sublevantem.' (Eccl. iv. 10.) Si quis autem exactus pro sua re- " ceptione aliquid dederit, ad canonicos ordines non accedat: " is autem, qui accepit,[1] officii sui privatione mulctetur. Si " vero peculium habuerit, nisi ei ab abbate fuerit pro injuncta " administratione permissum, a communione removeatur alta- " ris; et qui in extremis cum peculio inventus fuerit, nec " oblatio pro eo fiat, nec inter fratres recipiat sepulturam. " Quod etiam de diversis religiosis præcipimus observari. " Abbas autem, et qui diligenter ista non curaverit, officii sui " jacturam se noverit cursurum. Prioratus quoque, seu obe- " dientiæ, pretii datione nulli tradantur; alioquin et dantes " et accipientes a ministerio fiant ecclesiastico alieni. Priores " vero cum in conventualibus ecclesiis fuerint constituti, nisi " pro manifesta causa et rationabili non mutentur; videlicet, " si dilapidatores fuerint, si incontinenter vixerint, aut tale " aliquod egerint, pro quo amovendi merito videantur: aut si " etiam pro majoris necessitate officii fuerint transferendi.[2] " Et illud præterea dignum adjectione[3] videtur, ne monachi " aut canonici nigri, vel moniales nigræ, cappis coloratis " utantur, sed tantum nigris; nec utantur coopertoriis nisi " nigris vel albis, cum pellibus agninis vel catinis vel vul- " pinis. Monachi etiam aut alii religiosi pileis non utantur; " nec obtentu peregrinationis claustrum egrediantur. Decer- " nimus etiam, ut in qualibet ecclesia monachorum vel quo- " rumlibet religiosorum suis usibus canonice appropriata, " vicarius instituatur provisione episcopi, honestam et suffici- " entem sustentationem de bonis ecclesiæ percepturus."

Monks are to stay in their monasteries

Conventua offices are not to be sold.

Conventual priors not to be removed but for good reasons.

Of the dress of the religious.

Eodem anno[4] Octovianus Ostiensis episcopus, cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, venit in Franciam, missus a latere domini Innocentii papæ ad cognoscendum de divortio facto inter Philippum regem Franciæ, et Botildam[5] reginam sponsam suam, et ut ipse inprimis ante ingressum litis compelleret prædictum regem Franciæ dimittere adulteram suam[6] Theutonicam, et resumere Botildam sponsam suam, et modo

Cardinal Octavian comes to France to settle the question of the divorce.

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[1] *accepit*] accipit, Savile.

[2] *transferendi*] Here the quotation from the Lateran Canon ends.

[3] *adjectione*] abjectione, A.

[4] *Eodem anno*] Here MSS. B. D. I. G. resume. MS. C. omits as far as *tertii*, p. 139, and MS. D. abridges very much.

[5] *Botildam*] MS. G. gives the name *Ingelburga* generally in the following passage; never *Botilda*.

[6] *suam*] Blank for the name in A.; where something has been erased.

A.D. 1200. Sept. 7.

Council held at S. Leger in Iveline.

debito tractare. Factum est autem in vigilia Nativitatis Beatæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ, prædicto cardinali et archiepiscopis, et episcopis et clero Franciæ convenientibus apud Sanctum Leodegarium in Nivele;[1] Philippus rex Franciæ, et Botilda regina, et adultera ejus Theutonica convenerunt illuc; et rex Franciæ admonitione præfati cardinalis et consilio suorum dimisit adulteram suam, et Botildam sponsam suam recepit, et statim conquestus est de ea cardinali, dicens quod ipse eam de jure habere sibi in conjugem non debet, quia multum erant affines in consanguinitate; et hoc probare modis omnibus præsto erat, et ideo petebat divortium inter illos fieri. Statuit ergo eis prædictus cardinalis spatium sex mensium, et sex hebdomadarum, et sex dierum, et sex horarum, a vigilia illa Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ, ad deliberandum super hoc; et locum placitandi statuit eis apud Sessuns, electione reginæ Botildæ.

The cardinal hears the king and adjourns the discussion for six months, to be continued at Soissons.

The interdict is relaxed in France.

Eodem die, scilicet in vigilia Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ, postquam rex Franciæ adulteram suam dimiserat, et Botildam sponsam suam receperat, statim relaxata est sententia interdicti ecclesiarum de regno Franciæ, et pulsatis campanis facta est lætitia magna in clero et populo, quia interdictum illud jam duraverat plusquam per triginta hebdomadas, et corpora defunctorum sepulta erant extra villam per vicos et plateas. Et paulo post præfata mulier, quam rex Franciæ dimiserat, peperit filium, et vocatus est nomine patris sui Philippus.[2] Genuerat etiam idem rex Franciæ de eadem muliere filiam, quæ quinquennis erat die illa qua ipse illam dimisit: filiam autem illam spopondit rex Franciæ se daturum Alexandro filio Willelmi regis Scotiæ in uxorem.[3]

Children of Agnes of Meran.

[1] The place was S. Leger-en-Iveline, between Paris and Etampes. Bouquet, xvii. 608.

[2] *Philippus*] Philip Hurepel, afterwards count of Boulogne. Compare a similar passage below, pp. 173, 174.

[3] *filiam . . . uxorem*] filium alterum, D.

Eodem anno, nono kalendas Octobris, videlicet, die Sabbati quatuor temporum proximo ante festum Sancti Michaelis,[1] Willelmus cognomento Malvaisin,[2] Glascuensis ecclesiæ electus, ordinatus est in sacerdotem apud Lugdunum,[3] a[4]   ejusdem civitatis archiepiscopo; et in crastino ibidem, scilicet die Dominica, viii^vo. kalendas Octobris, consecratus est in episcopum Glascuensem ab eodem archiepiscopo, per mandatum domini Innocentii papæ tertii.

A.D. 1200. Sept. 23. William Malvoisin ordained priest; and, Sept. 24, consecrated bishop of Glasgow, at Lyons.

Eodem anno, mense Octobris,[5] post completa negotia sua in Normannia et cæteris terris suis transmarinis, Johannes rex Angliæ transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam, et adduxit secum Ysabel sponsam suam, filiam comitis de Engolismo, et octavo idus ejusdem mensis, die Dominica, ipse et Ysabel uxor ejus coronati sunt Lundoniis apud Westmonasterium ab Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

Oct. 8. John and his queen crowned at Westminster.

Interim,[6] ex præcepto ejusdem regis, Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, frater suus, dissaisitus est de omnibus maneriis et bonis archiepiscopatus sui. Jacobus vero de Poterne, tunc temporis vicecomes Eboraci maneria ejusdem archiepiscopi violenter ingressus, bona sua dissipavit. Unde prædictus archiepiscopus excommunicavit vicecomitem illum, et omnes hujus violentiæ auctores et consiliarios, accensis candelis et pulsatis campanis. Excommunicavit etiam omnes, qui Johannem regem fratrem suum adversus eum in iram et indignationem commoverunt vel commoverent sine ejus delicto. Excommunicavit etiam burgenses

Archbishop Geoffrey again dispossessed.

He excommunicates the sheriff of Yorkshire and his other enemies; the townsmen of Beverley in particular.

[1] *Michaelis*] Mikaelis, A.

[2] *Malvaisin*] Malveisin, B. G.; Maveisin, D.; Mavesin, I.

[3] *Lugdunum*] Lucdunum, A.; Ludetunum, B.

[4] *a*] Blank for the name in A. I. Reginald de Forez; archbishop, 1195–1226. The letter addressed to this bishop, given in Mabillon, *Analecta*, 478, is from the ex-archbishop of Lyons, John of Poictiers. The sentence is abridged in D.

[5] John was at Valognes on the 1st, and at Freemantle on the 6th of October. Hardy's *Itinerary*.

[6] *Interim*] Here again MS. G. omits, as far as *fratri suo*, below, p. 140.

A.D. 1200. October. Offences of the men of Beverley.

de Beverlaco, et villam ipsam a celebratione Divini officii, et a sonitu campanarum suspendit, pro eo quod prædicti burgenses parcum suum fregerunt, et cætera bona sua, quæ Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, prædecessor suus, et ipse aliquo tempore pacifice possederunt, turbaverant, diminuerant.

John restores the archbishop's estates, but fixes a day for him to give account of his proceedings.

Procedente autem tempore, Johannes rex Angliæ, bonorum virorum fretus consilio, restituit prænominato archiepiscopo archiepiscopatum suum, et statuit ei diem veniendi in curia sua, ad monstrandum quare non transfretavit cum illo ad faciendum pacem cum rege Franciæ, quando summonitus erat; et quare non permiserat servientes suos capere denarios carucarum de terra sua, sicut in aliis partibus regni factum est; et quare verberaverat servientem vicecomitis Eboraci: et ad reddendum regi tria millia marcarum argenti, quæ ipse debuit Ricardo regi Angliæ fratri suo.

After his coronation, John sent to the king of Scots safe-conduct to court, that he might come and do homage; on Nov. 21.

Johannes vero[1] rex Angliæ, statim post coronationem suam, misit Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum, et Rogerum Bigot comitem de [Northfolc],[2] et Henricum de Boum comitem Herefordiæ, nepotem[3] Willelmi regis Scotiæ, et David comitem de Huntendun, fratrem ejusdem regis Scotiæ, et Rogerum de Lasci constabularium Cestriæ, et Willelmum de Vesci et Robertum de Ros, generos ejusdem regis Scotiæ, et Robertum filium Rogeri, vicecomitem de Northimbria, ad Willelmum regem Scottorum, cum litteris regiis patentibus de salvo conducto ad conducendum ipsum regem Scottorum ad regem Angliæ; et statuit illi diem veniendi ad eum apud Lincolniam in crastino Sancti Eadmundi.

Illness of S. Hugh of Lincoln.

Interim Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, rediens in Angliam de transmarinis partibus, infirmabatur Lun-

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[1] *Johannes vero*] MS. G. resumes.

[2] *Northfolc*] Blank in A. G.

[3] *nepotem*] nepoti, I. The earl of Hereford was the son of Margaret of Scotland, sister of William the Lion, who married, after the death of Conan of Brittany, Humphrey de Bohun. *Eustace* de Vesci married Margaret, and Robert de Ros Isabel, two of the king's natural daughters.

doniis quartanis febribus detentus. Venit ergo visitare eum Johannes rex Angliæ, et confirmavit testamentum illius, et promisit in Domino, quod de cætero rationabilia prælatorum ecclesiæ testamenta rata haberet tempore suo. Deinde mense Novembris, xvi°. kalendas Decembris, feria quinta, obiit Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus Lundoniis.

A.D. 1200. Nov. 16.

Death of S. Hugh.

Eodem mense Novembris, xi^mo kalendas Decembris, feria tertia, Johannes rex Angliæ et Willelmus rex Scotiæ convenerunt apud Lincolniam, et in crastino, videlicet x^mo kalendas Decembris, feria quarta, Johannes rex Angliæ intrepidus, et contra consilium multorum, intravit ecclesiam cathedralem Lincolniensem, et obtulit super altare Sancti Johannis Baptistæ,[1] quod est in novo opere, calicem aureum. Deinde, eodem die, ipse et Willelmus rex Scottorum convenerunt ad colloquium extra civitatem Lincolniæ, super montem arduum; et ibi in conspectu omnis populi Willelmus rex Scottorum devenit homo Johannis regis Angliæ de jure suo, et juravit ei fidelitatem super crucem Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, de vita et membris et terreno honore suo, contra omnes homines, et de pace servanda sibi et regno suo, salvo jure suo; testibus his, Huberto Cantuariensi,[2] Johanni Dublinensi, Bernardo Raguensi archiepiscopis; et Philippo Dunelmensi, Willelmo Lundoniensi, Gilleberto Rofensi, Eustacio Eliensi, Savarico Bathoniensi, Herberto Saresbiriensi, et Godefrido Wintoniensi, et Ægidio Herefordensi, et Johanne Nortwicensi, et Rogero de Sancto Andrea in Scotia, et Henrico de Landaf, et de Pangor,[3] et de Mida[4] episcopis; et Gaufrido Filio Petri justitiario Angliæ comite de Essexe, et Rogero Bigot comite de [Norfolc],[5] et Hamelino comite de Warenna, et Baldewino de

Nov. 21. John and the king of Scots visit Lincoln.

Nov. 22. John visits the cathedral.

The king of Scots does homage to John.

Names of the witnesses.

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[1] *Baptistæ*] Babtistæ, A., in a later hand, over an erasure.

[2] *Cantuariensi*] archiepiscopo, ins. B. I. The following list is omitted in D.

[3] *et . . . de Pangor*] Blank in A. Robert of Shrewsbury.

[4] *et . . . de Mida*] Blank in A.; om. Savile. Simon Rochford.

[5] *Norfolc*] Blank in A. G.

A.D. 1200. Nov. 22. Witnesses of the homage of the king of Scots.

Betun comite de Albemarlia, et Willelmo comite de Salesbiri, et Henrico de Boum comite de Hereford, et [1] comite de Clara, et [2] comite de Ferreris, et David fratre Willelmi regis Scottorum comite de Huntendune, et Rollando filio Huctredi filii Fergus principe Galuaiorum, et Patricio comite de Loonais,[3] et Griffino filio Resi rege de Suthuales, et aliis multis de regno Scotiæ; et coram baronibus Angliæ et Normanniæ, videlicet, Rogero constabulario Cestriæ, et Eustacio de Vesci, et Roberto de Ros, et Willelmo de Stutevilla, et Radulfo Camberlango [4] de Tankarville,[5] et Warino filio Geroldi, et Stephano de Turneham, et Roberto fratre ejus, et Gilleberto Basset, et Thoma et Alano fratribus ejus, et Rogero de Huntingfeld, et Saero [6] de Quinci, et Willelmo de Hastinghes,[7] et Jollano de Nevilla, et Simone de Chanci, et Girardo de Camvilla, et aliis multis de baronibus Angliæ et Normanniæ. Facto itaque homagio suo, Willelmus rex Scotiæ petiit a Johanne rege Angliæ domino suo totam Northimbriam et Cumbriam et Westmerilande, sicut jus et hæreditatem suam, et cum diu super hoc esset tractatum, nec inter eos posset convenire, rex Angliæ petiit a rege Scotiæ inducias deliberandi usque ad Pentecosten proximo venturum. Quo concesso, Willelmus rex Scotiæ in crastino summo mane, videlicet ix. kalendas Decembris, feria quinta, reversus est in regionem suam, sub prædictorum conductu, qui eum ad regem Angliæ conduxerant.

He demands Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland: John defers his decision until Whitsuntide.

Nov. 23. Departure of the king of Scots.

Funeral of S. Hugh.

Eodem die, scilicet ix°. kalendas Decembris, corpus Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi delatum est Lincolniam, ibidem intumulandum. Cui occurrentes Johannes rex Angliæ, et supradicti tres archiepiscopi, et præfati

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[1] *et . . .*] Blank for the name in A. Richard.

[2] *et . . .*] Blank for the name in A. William.

[3] *Loonais*] Lonais, B. This is Patrick earl of Dunbar. See Lord Hailes' *Annals*, i. p. 137.

[4] *Camberlango*] Chamberlano, I.; Camberlano, B.

[5] *Tankarville*] Thankawilla, I.; Tankavilla, B.

[6] *Saero*] Seero, B. I.

[7] *Hastinghes*] Hastinges, B. I.

tredecim episcopi, et comites et barones prænominati, receperunt corpus illud; et rex ipse, una cum comitibus et baronibus, portavit in collo suo corpus illud. Deinde comites et barones portaverunt illud in humeris suis usque in atrium matricis ecclesiæ, gaudentes obsequium se præstare Deo, et beato præsuli illi. Ad ostium vero ecclesiæ receperunt corpus illud præfati archiepiscopi et episcopi, et sic in humeris prælatorum delatum est usque in chorum, et ibi pernoctatum est. Cumque circa eum agerentur exsequiæ defunctorum, quædam mulier, quæ per septem annos ex uno oculo cæca fuerat, recepit visum. Et ibidem quidem bursarum incisor scidit[1] bursam cujusdam mulieris, et statim factæ sunt ambæ manus ejus contractæ, et ipse stans immobilis clamabat dicens,

A.D. 1200. Nov. 23. John assists at the funeral.

A miracle on a half blind woman.

A cutpurse miraculously makes Latin verses.

"Pœnitet, O, si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
"Pœnitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo.
"Qui cum me pœna dignum graviore fuisse
"Confiteor, possum vix graviora pati.
"Et quamvis meritis pœna hæc sit debita nostris,[2]
"Magna tamen spes est in bonitate Dei.
"Spes facit, ut vivat fossor quoque compede
"vinctus,
"Liberaque a ferro crura futura putet.
"Spes facit, ut videat cum terras undique nullas,
"Naufragus in mediis brachia jactet aquis.
"Sæpe aliquem sollers medicorum cura reliquit:
"Nec spes huic, vena deficiente,[3] cadit.
"Carcere dicuntur clausi spectare salutem;
"Atque aliquis pendens in cruce vota facit.
"En spes, quam multos laqueo sua colla ligantes
"Non est proposita passa perire nece!
"Confugit interdum templi violator ad aram,
"Nec petere offensi numinis horret opem."

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[1] *scidit*] cidit, A. MS. C. omits this story.

[2] *Et . . . nostris*] Et quamvis sit pœna meritis hæc debita nostris, A. B. D. MS. G. reads, "Et quamvis sit pœna meis hæc debita "factis."

[3] *deficiente*] deficiende, A. B.; deficiendo, D. MS. G. reads, "Nec "tamen huic veniæ spesque salutis "abest."

A.D. 1200. Nov. 23.

Et ad se conversus, ait:

"Lingua sile, non est ultra narrabile quicquam."

Penitence of the cut-purse.

Et conversus ad clerum, dixit, "Miseremini mei,[1] "miseremini saltem vos, amici Dei,[2] et orate pro me ad "Dominum, ut Ipse pro Sua ineffabili misericordia "misereatur[3] mei. Ego enim abrenuncio Sathanæ et "operibus ejus." Et statim facta oratione pro ipso ad Dominum, soluta sunt vincula Sathanæ, quibus constrictæ erant manus ejus, et sanus factus est homo ab illa hora, laudans et glorificans Deum.

"Talia cœlestes fieri præconia gaudent,
"Ut, sua quid valeant numina, teste probent,
"Sæpe levant[4] pœnas, ereptaque lumina reddunt,
"Cum bene peccati pœnituisse vident."

Nov. 24. The body of S. Hugh is placed in the tomb.

Octavo kalendas Decembris, feria sexta, corpus prædicti Hugonis, Lincolniensis episcopi, post Missarum solemnia delatum est in ecclesia nova, quam ipse in honore beatæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ fundaverat, tumulatum[5] est a præfatis archiepiscopis, et episcopis juxta altare Sancti Johannis Baptistæ. O quantus luctus omnium, O quanta lamenta, præcipue clericorum! Erat namque in sermone verax, in judicio justus, in consilio providus, in bonitate conspicuus, in universa morum honestate præclarus. Ejusque vita cunctas illustrabat ecclesias.

"Ultima[6] semper
"Exspectanda dies homini est; dicique beatus
"Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet." *Ovid. Met.* iii. 135.

Non est enim gloriosum vivere, sed bene vivere gloriosum est.

Two Cistercian abbots visit John.

Præterea dum Johannes rex Angliæ moram faceret apud Lincolniam, accesserunt ad eum duodecim abbates de ordine Cisterciensi, et ad pedes ejus provoluti,

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[1] *mei*] om. B. I.
[2] *Dei*] mei, G.
[3] *misereatur*] miseratur, A.
[4] *levant*] lavant, I.
[5] *tumulatum*] que, add. B. G.
[6] *Ultima*] MS. G. omits all that follows as far as *sepultus ero*, below.

misericordiam petierunt, dicentes, quod forestarii ejus[1] averia sua, quibus ipsi et pauperes Christi sustentati fuerant, a pasturis et forestis regiis exterminaverunt. Quibus rex respondit, "Surgite." Et surrexerunt omnes viri illi: et rex ipse, Divina inspirante gratia, cecidit pronus in terram ante pedes illorum, veniam postulans, et ait illis, "Pacem meam do vobis, et concedo, ut averia "vestra pascatis per pasturas et[2] forestas meas, sicut "dinoscitur vobis concessum fuisse a prædecessoribus "meis regibus Angliæ; et insuper quærite locum in "regno meo aptum ad abbatiam de ordine vestro faci- "endam; et ego eam faciam pro salute animæ meæ, "et parentum meorum, et pro stabilitate regni, et ego "ibi, Deo volente, sepultus ero."

A.D. 1200. November. They complain of the king's foresters.

John promises them relief, and to build a new abbey.

Eodem anno,[3] mense Decembris, Rollandus princeps Galueiæ obiit in Anglia apud Northamtun,[4] xiv°. kalendas Januarii, feria tertia, et ibidem sepultus est apud abbatiam Sancti Andreæ.

Dec. 19. Ronald of Galloway dies at Northampton.

Eodem anno Dunecan, filius Gilleberti filii Fergus, rapuit Avelinam filiam Alani filii Valteri, domini de Rainfriu, antequam Willelmus rex Scotiæ rediret de Anglia in terram suam. Unde idem rex plurimum iratus, cepit de Alano filio Valteri viginti quatuor plegios, de pace sibi et terræ suæ servanda, et de jure faciendo super calumnia illa.

Duncan of Galloway carries off a daughter of the lord of Renfrew.

Eodem[5] mense Decembris,[6] Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, infra quindecim dies post obitum suum, apparuit in somnis magistro Rogero de Rollestun,[7] decano Lincolniensis ecclesiæ, dicens: "Concessit mihi Dominus "noster Jesus Christus Sua gratia, quod unus ex vo- "bis fratribus meis in proximo veniet ad me cum

S. Hugh appears in a vision to the dean of Lincoln; and warns him of the death of one of the clergy.

[1] *ejus*] om. B. I.
[2] *et*] om. D. I.
[3] *Eodem anno*] MS. G. resumes.
[4] *Northamtun*] Northamtune, I.; Northamtum, A.; Northamtoniam, B.
[5] *Eodem*] anno, ins. Savile.
[6] *Decembris*] Septembris, B. D.
[7] *Rollestun*] Rollestone, B.; Rollestune, G.; Rolviston, D.

A.D. 1200. December. The dean relates his vision.

"Domino regnaturus. Estote ergo parati, et vigilate, quia nescitis diem, neque[1] horam, quando Dominus venturus est." Et his dictis abiit. Mane autem facto, prædictus decanus narravit visionem istam in capitulo suo coram fratribus; et erat illis omnibus mens una desiderans desiderio magno a mole carnis resolvi, et esse cum Christo. Sed hæc visio in uno solo fratre illorum, videlicet Roberto de Capella, tunc impleta est. Ipse enim statim incepit ægrotare, et infra triduum emittens spiritum perrexit ad Dominum. Corpus autem ejus a collo usque ad poplites inventum erat in cilicio consutum, quo ipse utebatur a multo tempore sub veste candida.

Robert de Capella dies.

Five moons seen in Yorkshire.

Eodem mense Decembris, paulo ante Natale Domini, in provincia Eboracensi apparuerunt de nocte in cœlo quinque lunæ circa primam vigiliam noctis: prima apparuit in Aquilone, secunda in Meridie, tertia in Occidente, quarta in Oriente, quinta luna apparuit in [medio][2] illarum quatuor lunarum, et habebat secum stellas multas, et illa cum stellis suis circuibat quinquies vel sexies præfatas quatuor lunas. Hæc autem apparuit multis videntibus, et admirantibus, quasi per spatium unius horæ, et postea evanuit ab oculis intuentium.

A.D. 1201. March. Philip and his wife appear before cardinal Octavian at Soissons.

Eodem anno in medio Quadragesimæ, mense Martio, Philippus rex Franciæ, et Botilda[3] regina uxor ejus, convenerunt cum partibus suis apud Sessuns coram Octoviano Ostiensi episcopo, a domino papa Innocentio judice delegato. Ex parte autem prædictæ reginæ interfuerunt ibi episcopi, et alii honesti viri et discreti, missi a Cnut rege Dacorum fratre prædictæ reginæ; et ante ingressum litis petierunt a rege Franciæ securitatem libere respondendi, et allegandi, et a terra

[1] *neque*] ne, A.

[2] *medio*] om. A. D. G.; interlined in B. MS. C. has this paragraph, but omits all that follows from *Eodem* to *Angliæ*, p. 148.

[3] *Botilda*] Ingelburga, G., here and generally.

A.D. 1201. March.

Discussion of the question of divorce.

sua recedendi. Et his concessis, rex Franciæ constanter petebat divortium fieri inter ipsum et Botildam sponsam suam, dicendo, quod ita affines erant[1] in consanguinitatis linea, quod eam de jure non deberet cognoscere. Ad hoc responderunt nuncii regis Dacorum, " Nos cognovimus, audivimus, et vidimus, quod cum " venerabiles viri nuncii vestri, videlicet episcopi[2] quos " excellentia vestra misit ad dominum nostrum Cnut " regem Dacorum, pro matrimonio contrahendo inter " vos et Botildam[6] sororem suam, essent in præsentia " illius, et proponerent quod desiderio desiderastis du- " cere vobis in uxorem Botildam, regiæ stirpis egregiam " puellam, sororem suam, et eam constanter petissent " vobis transmitti; dominus noster Cnut rex Dacorum, " hostium suorum magnificus triumphator, cui nemo im- " pune resistit, communicato magnatum regni sui con- " silio, dignum judicavit petitionem vestram exaudiri. " Juraverunt ergo prædicti nuncii vestri in animam " vestram, juraveruntque in animas suas, quod vos præ- " fatam Botildam[3] statim ex quo ipsa[4] fines regni vestri " intraret, eam vobis desponsari, et in reginam coro- " nari faceretis, et eam sicut reginam et sponsam ves- " tram honorifice tractaretis, quamdiu vos duo[5] vixe- " ritis. Et super hoc misistis domino nostro regi " Dacorum cartam vestram, quam hic præ manibus " habemus: habemus etiam cartas magnatum vestro- " rum, qui hoc idem juraverunt. Et quia vos, secus " quam magnates vestri juraverunt, præfatam Botildam[6] " sponsam vestram tractastis: nos appellamus eos de " perjurio et fide læsa coram domino papa: appella- " mus etiam ad dominum papam a judice isto do- " mino Octoviano Ostiensi episcopo,[7] qui nobis sus-

Statement of the Danish envoys.

[1] *erant*] om. I. The note on the affinity of Philip and his wife, in vol. III. p. 224, is based on a mistake and should be expunged.

[2] *videlicet episcopi*] om. D. G. Blanks in A. for the names.

[3] *Botildam*] puellam, G.

[4] *ipsa*] om. I.

[5] *duo*] om. B. I.

[6] *Botildam*] om. G.

[7] *Ostiensi episcopo*] om. I.

A.D. 1201. March. The queen and the Danish envoys appeal to the pope himself.

"pectus est, utpote qui consanguineus vester est, ut "dicit, et causam vestram nimio favore prosequitur." Similiter et ipsa Botilda regina appellavit pro se ipsa a judice illo ad dominum papam.

Octovianus igitur Ostiensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, audiens quod appellatum esset ab eo ad summum pontificem, dixit ad nuncios regis Dacorum, "Exspectate donec collega meus, quem associavit mihi "dominus papa, veniat, qui in proximo venturus est, "et quod ab eo judicatum fuerit, recipite." Illi autem abierunt, dicentes, "Appellavimus."

The other legate decides against the divorce, and Philip takes away his wife and imprisons her.

Post triduum venit ille alius legatus, de cujus sanctitate et justitia dominus papa plenam habebat fiduciam; et sedens pro tribunali, nullam invenit causam, quare divortium fieret inter Philippum, regem Franciæ, et Botildam reginam sponsam suam; et cum ille super hoc vellet dare diffinitivam sententiam contra regem Franciæ, rex Franciæ inde præmunitus, ante sententiæ pronunciationem abiit, et duxit secum Botildam reginam uxorem suam, et posuit eam in arctiori custodia.

A.D. 1200. May. Peace between Philip and John.

Eodem anno[1] facta est hæc pax et finalis concordia inter Philippum[2] regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ.

Hæc est pax et finalis concordia facta inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ.[3]

Form of treaty.

"Philippus Dei gratia rex Francorum, universis ad quos "præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem. Noveritis quod hæc "est forma pacis facta inter nos et dilectum nostrum et "fidelem Johannem, Dei gratia regem Angliæ; scilicet, quod "ipse tenebit nobis et hæredibus nostris pacem, quam Ricar-

[1] *Eodem anno*] MS. G. omits all that follows as far as p. 152, below.

[2] *Philippum*] Filippum, A.

[3] This copy of the treaty has been transcribed very carelessly by Hoveden's copyist, or taken from an unsound exemplar. It is given in the *Fœdera*, i. 79, "ex rotulo in "Thesaurar." An abstract is given by Mr. Cooper in the Appendix D. to the Report on the *Fœdera*; and a commentary by Mr. Stapleton in the Rolls of the Norman Exchequer, Vol. ii., p. clxxii. It is very much abridged in MS. C.

"dus rex frater ejus fecit nobiscum inter Eroldum[1] et Carotom;[2] exceptis iis quæ per præsentem cartam excipiuntur vel mutantur, propter exceptiones quas idem rex Ricardus nobis fecerat de pace illa. Scilicet quod idem rex Johannes donavit nobis, et hæredibus nostris, sicut rectus hæres Ricardi fratris sui, civitatem Ebroicarum et Ebrocinium, cum omnibus feudis et dominiis, sicut subscriptæ metæ determinant. Metæ autem positæ sunt inter Ebroicas et Novumburcum:[3] et totum id quod erit inter has metas ex parte Franciæ, erit nostrum: id quod erit versus Novumburcum,[3] erit regis Angliæ. Et quantum terræ habuimus versus Novumburcum, tantum terræ habebimus[4] versus Conchias, et versus Akenni[5] ad eandem mensuram, ex parte ubi abbatia de Noa sita est, sicut aqua Itoniæ currit. Guitebo,[6] ubicunque sit, nobis dedit. Tylers cum pertinentiis suis, et Danvilla, remanet regi Angliæ. Item tamen quod dominus de Bruroles habebit id quod habere debet in dominatu de Tylers; et dominus de Tylers habeat id quod habere debet in dominatu de Bruroles. Concessit etiam nobis de episcopatu Ebroicensi id quod est infra has metas; unde episcopus Ebroicensis nobis respondebit, et hæredibus nostris. Idem autem episcopus respondebit regi Angliæ, et hæredibus suis, de hoc quod erit extra has metas. Et sciendum quod neque nos, neque rex Angliæ, poterimus firmare inter has metas constitutas inter Novumburcum et Ebroicum, neque apud Guitebo, neque nos ex parte nostra, neque rex Angliæ ex parte sua, nisi ubi firmatum est infra metas prædictas. Præterea forteliciæ de[7] Portis[8] et de Landis in continenti diruentur,[9] neque ibi aliæ forteliciæ poterunt reædificari. Hæc autem omnia, quæ comes Ebroicensis tenebat inter has metas, fecit nobis rex Angliæ acquietari a recto hærede Ebroicorum. De Hulcasino[10] Normanniæ scilicet erit: prædicto regi Angliæ et hæredibus suis remanebunt feuda et dominium, sicut archiepiscopus Rotomagi inde tenens erat die qua fecit excambium de Andeliaco; totum Hulcasini residuum nobis remanet. Nos quoque non possumus firmare ultra Gamagium ex parte nostra Nor-

A.D. 1200. May.

John gives up Evreux and the Evrecin.

Limits of the gift.

Neither party to fortify the divided land, otherwise than at present.

Settlement about the Norman Vexin.

[1] *Eroldum*] Properly Exoldunum, Yssoudun. See vol. iii. p. 302.

[2] *Carotom*] Properly Charrocum, Charost, unless the place was *Châteauroux*.

[3] *Novumburcum*] Novum Burgum, B. I.

[4] *versus . . . habebimus*] om. I.

[5] *Akenni*] Akemu, A. B.

[6] *Guitebo*] Gurtebo, Savile. Quittebeuf.

[7] *de*] om. I.

[8] *Portis*] Porris, *Fœd.* i. 80. The text is right.

[9] *diruentur*] duruentur, A.

[10] *Hulcasino*] Hulcasmo, A. B. I.

A.D. 1200. May. Enumeration of lands given by John to Lewis on his marriage with Blanche of Castile.

" manniæ, nec ultra fines forestæ Vernonis, sed infra; neque " rex Angliæ ultra forestam Andeliaci, sed infra. Dedit au- " tem rex Angliæ in maritagium Ludowico filio nostro cum filia " regis Castellæ, sua nepte, feodum Eroldinum,[1] et feodum " Carsscai,[2] et feodum Buturesii, sicut Andreas de Callviniaco[3] " ea tenebat de rege Angliæ. Et de omnibus his erimus sai- " siati, usque dum maritagium sit consummatum. Et quic- " quid contingat de maritagio, postquam factum fuerit, nos " prædicta feoda tenebimus tota vita nostra. Et post vitam " nostram revertentur prædicta feoda ad prædictum regem " Angliæ, et ad hæredes suos, si prædictus Ludowicus filius " noster hæredem non habuerit de nepte regis Angliæ. Si vero " contigerit ipsum regem Angliæ mori absque hærede de " uxore sua desponsata, cum prædictis feudis dedit[4] rex An- " gliæ Ludowico filio nostro cum prædicta nepte sua in mari-

Further provisions.

" tagium feudum Hugonis de Gurnaio citra mare Angliæ, " sicut id tenet de rege Angliæ, et feudum comitis Albimaris " citra mare Angliæ,[5] et feudum comitis Perticii,[6] sicut ea " tenent de rege Angliæ citra mare Angliæ.[7] Præterea idem " rex Angliæ[7] dedit nobis viginti millia[8] marcarum argenti " ad pondus et legem, in qua facta fuerunt, scilicet[9] tredecim " solidos et quatuor denarios pro marca, propter recatum[10] " nostrum, et propter feudum Britanniæ, quod nos regi An-

Brittany to be held by Arthur of his uncle.

" gliæ dimisimus. Rex vero Johannes recepit Arturum in " hominem, ita quod Arturus tenebit Britanniam de prædicto " rege Angliæ. Idem vero rex Angliæ, sicut rectus hæres " regis Ricardi fratris sui, tenebit de nobis omnia feuda, sicut " pater ejus, et Ricardus rex frater ejus tenuerunt, et sicut " feuda debent, exceptis supradictis, quæ nobis remanent,

The rights of Limoges and Angoulême secured.

" sicut prædictum est. De comite Engolismi et vicecomite " Lemovicensi sic erit, quod rex Johannes recipiet eos in " homines, ita quod jura eorum eis dimittet. De comite " Flandriæ et comite Boloniæ sic erit; quod comes Flandriæ " tenebit id quod tenet de terra nostra, et nos ea quæ tene- " mus de comite Boloniæ, scilicet dominia et feuda; et ea

[1] *Eroldinum*] Eroldum, B. I.; Exolduni, *Fœd.* i. 80.

[2] *Carsscai*] Carssari, B. I.; Carsscai, A.; Carsarri, D.; Erascarii, *Fœd.* i. 80. The abstract given in Mr. Cooper's Appendix to the *Fœdera*, Thresor des Chartres, p. 3, has "Grassay."

[3] *Callviniaco*] Calumaco, I.; Callumaco, A. B.

[4] *dedit*] dabit, Savile.

[5] *sicut . . . Angliæ*] om. I.

[6] *Perticii*] Patricii, Savile.

[7] *Angliæ*] om. I.; et feudum... Angliæ, om. D.

[8] *viginti millia*] triginta millia, Savile. The copy in the *Fædera* agrees with the text.

[9] *scilicet*] sed, A.

[10] *recatum*] rechatum, *Fœd.* i. 80.

A.D. 1200. May.

The cases of Ponthieu and Flanders provided for.

"quæ comes Pontivi[1] tenet, inde feudum et dominium remanent nobis et comiti Pontivi; propter hoc quod comes "Flandriæ tenet de nostro, ideo faciet nobis homagium "ligium.[2] Et si ipse comes Flandriæ, aut aliquis hominum meorum, qui melius sint aut esse debent homines "nostri quam regis Angliæ, nobis malum facere aut nocere vellent, rex Angliæ non poterit contra nos adjuvare, et manutenere[3] eos; neque nos similiter suos, qui "sint aut melius esse debent homines sui quam mei; salva "forma hujus pacis prædictæ. In conventionibus istis habet "rex Angliæ conventionem, quod ipse Otoni nullum faciet "auxilium, neque per pecuniam, neque per gentes, neque per "milites, nec per alium, nisi per consilium nostrum. De "Arturo sic erit, quod rex Angliæ non minuet eum de feudo "vel de dominio Britanniæ citra mare Angliæ, nisi per rectum "judicium curiæ suæ. Rex vero Angliæ dedit nobis securitates de hominibus suis subscriptis, Baldewino comite Albemarliæ, Willelmo comite de Pembroc, Hugone de Gurnaco, "Willelmo de Humet constabulario Normanniæ, Roberto "de Harucurt,[4] Johanne de Pratellis, Willelmo de Kau, "Garino de Gapiun,[5] qui juraverunt hoc modo, quod ipsi cum "omnibus suis feudis citra mare ad nos venirent, si rex "Angliæ non teneret pacem et conventionem sicut divisa est. "Nos quoque dedimus securitates de hominibus[6] nostris subscriptis; comite Roberto Drocorum, comite Galfrido Perticii, "Willelmo Garlad,[7] Bartholomæo de[8] Royia, Gervasio de "Castello, Waltero Camerario patre, Ursone filio ejus, Philippo "de Leuns, Waltero Camerario juniore: qui similiter juraverunt, quod cum omnibus suis ad regem venirent, si nos ei "hanc pacem non tenuerimus, sicut est divisa. Nos autem "et prædicti ostagii, bona fide, et sine malo ingenio, hæc "firmiter et fideliter observanda juravimus. Quæ ut perpetuum robur obtineant, præsentem cartam auctoritate sigilli "nostri corroboramus. Actum apud G.,[9] anno ab Incarnatione Domini MºCCº., mense Maii."

John is not to assist Otho of Germany without Philip's consent.

John's sureties.

Philip's sureties.

Et consimilem cartam huic habet rex Franciæ, conversis tamen nominibus.

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[1] *Pontivi*] Ponticli, A. B. I.; Pontini, Savile and *Fœd.* i. 80.

[2] *ligium*] om. Savile.

[3] *manutenere*] manutenire, A.

[4] *Harucurt*] Harecurt, I.; Herefort, *Fœd.* i. 80.

[5] *Gapiun*] Capuin, B. I. Properly Clapiun. The copy in the *Fœdera* inserts "Rogero de Toen" before Garin.

[6] *hominibus*] omnibus, A. B.

[7] *Garlad*] Garlande, B. I.

[8] *de*] om. B. I.; Royas, B.

[9] *G.*] Guleton, *Fœd.* i. 80.

A.D. 1200 or 1201.

Eodem anno fuerunt hæ consuetudines scaccarii Lundoniensis super debitis domini regis inquirendis recitatæ apud Windlesoure post Pascha, coram rege Johanne, anno sui regni ii^do.,[1] *et coram quibusdam magnatibus terræ suæ, et ab eodem rege fuerunt confirmatæ.*

New regulations to be observed in the exchequer.

"Statutum est in Anglia, et per præceptum regis Johannis "confirmatum, quod nullus[2] vicecomes recipiat aliquem ad "præsentationem baronis in senescallum, qui non possit re-"spondere de misericordia pertinente ad transgressionem "fidei, si forte in eam inciderit. Quod autem senescallus ad "præsentationem baronis affidaverit, quod pacem faciet vice-"comiti de debitis domini sui ad scaccarium, intelligendum "est, quod super compotum vicecomitis de debito pacem "faciet: quod si non fecerit, mittatur in prisonam statutam "secundum legem scaccarii, et debitum regis capiatur de "catallis domini sui secundum legem scaccarii. Quod si fidem "præstitam non servaverit, ita quod ad computum[3] vicecomitis "non venerit, vel si venerit et sine licentia recesserit, corpus "ejus capiatur, et in prisonam ponatur statutam regis, nec "deliberetur nisi per speciale mandatum domini regis.

"Item mittatur ad terram domini cujus senescallus defe-"cerit, et de catallis suis solvatur pecunia quæ debetur "secundum legem scaccarii: et si pecunia illa debeatur pro "fine terræ, et catalla non inveniantur unde pecunia illa sol-"vatur; ipsa terra, pro qua finis facta fuit, capiatur in manu "domini regis, et teneatur donec pecunia illa solvatur secun-"dum legem scaccarii. In pœna læsionis fidei, senescallus "qui fidem transgressus fuerit, nunquam de hoc vel de alio "debito per fidem suam credatur vel recipiatur; nec dominus "credatur vel recipiatur in hoc debito, nisi de gratia et "voluntate regis, secundum legem et consuetudinem scaccarii."

Johannes rex Angliæ vendidit Willelmo de Braiusa magnam partem Hiberniæ pro v. *millibus marcis.*

John sells estates in Ireland to William de Braiose.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ vendidit pro quinque millibus marcarum Willelmo de Braiusa[4] totam

[1] John was at Windsor shortly after Easter in both 1200 and 1201. If this document is rightly dated, it belongs to 1201; but Hoveden treats 1200 as the second, and 1201 as the third year of the reign: the exact date is therefore uncertain.

[2] *nullus*] om. I.; interl. B.

[3] *computum*] compotum, B. I.

[4] *Braiusa*] Brausa, B.

terram Philippi de Wirecestre, et totam terram Teobaldi Valteri in Hibernia. Philippus autem vix evadens manus regis rediit in Hiberniam, transitum faciens per terram regis Scottorum, et recuperavit partem terræ suæ per guerram. Et Theobaldus Valteri, auxilio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, fratris sui, dedit Villelmo de Brausa quingentas marcas pro terra sua rehabenda, et homo suus devenit.[1]

A.D. 1200. The owners of these lands partly recover them.

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[1] The following story appears in MS. A. only. It is written in a hand about half a century later than the rest of the text in A., and is no doubt an insertion made at the end of the year on a blank leaf. It is an extract from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, lib. x., cc. lxx., lxxi.; but is given here as printed by Savile from MS. A., and as being referred to sometimes as the work of Hoveden. See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, i. 866.

De Secundo philosopho et ejus pertinaci silentio.

Temporibus Adriani floruit Secundus philosophus, qui philosophatus est omni tempore silentium servans, et Pictagoricam vitam ducens. Hic enim adhuc parvulus ad discendum missus, audivit in scholis verbum hujusmodi, quod omnis mulier fornicatrix esset et impudica. Tandem in philosophia perfectus remeavit in patriam suam, communem gerens peregrinationis consuetudinem, baculum et peram circumferens, coma capitis et barba prolixa. Hospitatus est in domo propria, nemine domesticorum eum cognoscente, neque propria matre; volensque probare de mulieribus, si verum esset quod audiverat, vocavit unam ex ancillis, promittens ei decem aureos, si persuaderet matri; at illa consentiens ancillæ, vespere fecit eum ad se introduci. Cumque illa æstimaret se cum illo carnaliter debere commisceri, ille velut propriam matrem amplectens, inter ubera illius dormivit usque ad mane. Mane autem, cum vellet egredi et discedere, illa apprehendens eum ait, "Ut me tentares hæc fecisti." Qui dixit, "Nequa- "quam, domina mater; neque enim dignum est, me illud vas maculare "unde exivi." Illa autem sciscitante quis esset, respondit, "Ego sum "Secundus filius tuus." Illa recogitans in semetipsa, et non ferens confusionem, exanimata est. Secundus vero, sciens quod per loquelam suam mors matri contigisset, hanc a se in posterum exegit pœnam, ne amplius loqueretur; et sic usque ad mortem taciturnitatem conservavit. Circa vero idem tempus Adrianus imperator veniens Athenas, audivit de illo, eumque ad se venire faciens, prius eum salutavit; ille autem tacuit. Tunc Adrianus ait, "Loquere, philosophe, ut a te aliquid addiscamus." Illo autem in proposito silentii perseverante, Tyrpon vocans quendam spiculatorem ait, "Hunc nolentem loqui imperatori vivere nolumus. Abduc eum, et tor- "que." Adrianus denique spiculatorem latenter evocans, ait, "Loquere "ei in via, et persuade ei ut loquatur; et si quid persuasus respondeat

[Foot note—*continued.*]
"decolla eum: si vero non responderit, reduc eum ad me." Ducebatur autem Secundus a spiculatore ad locum tormentorum. Qui dixit, "O "Secunde, quare tacens morieris? loquere et vives." Sed ille vitam suam parvi pendens, mortem tacitus exspectabat. Spiculator itaque ducens eum ad locum destinatum, ait illi, "Extende cervicem, et suscipe in eam "gladium." Ille extendens cervicem, silentio vitam postposuit. Apprehendens igitur eum, venit ad Adrianum, dicens Secundum usque ad mortem tacuisse.

De hiis quæ ad interrogata scripto respondit.

Tunc Adrianus admirans philosophi contumaciam, dixit ei, "Quia lex "ista silentii, quam tibi ipse proposuisti, nullo modo solvi potest, sumens "tabulam istam, scribe, et saltem manu tua loquere." Accipiens Secundus tabulam scripsit in hunc modum: "Ego quidem, O Adriane, nihil te "timeo, quia princeps hujus temporis videris existere; me quidem audire "[occidere V.B.] potes, sed vocis meæ proferendæ nulla tibi potestas est." Adrianus itaque legens, ait: "Bene excusatus es. Sed adhuc quædam tibi "problemata propono, ut ad hæc mihi respondeas: quorum primum est, "'Quid est mundus?'" Ille rescripsit, "Mundus est incessabilis circuitus, "spectabilis supellex, multiformis formatio, æternus tenor, circuitus sine "errore." "Quid est Oceanus?" "Mundi amplexus, terminus coronatus, "hospitium fluviorum, fons imbrium." "Quid est Deus?" "Immortalis "mens, incontemptibilis celsitudo, forma multiformis, incogitabilis in-"quisitio, insopitus oculus, omnia continens, lux, bonum." "Quid est "Sol?" "Cœli oculus, caloris circuitus, splendor sine occasu, diei ornatus, "horarum distributor." "Quid est Luna?" "Cœli purpura, solis æmula, "malefactorum inimica, solamen iter agentium, directio navigantium, "signum solemnitatum, larga roris, præsagium tempestatum." "Quid est "terra?" "Basis cœli, meditullium mundi, fructuum custos et mater, "operculum inferni, mater nascentium, devoratrix omnium, cellarium "vitæ." "Quid est homo?" "Mens incarnata, phantasma temporis, "speculator vitæ, mancipium mortis, transiens viator, loci hospes, anima "laboriosa, parvi temporis habitaculum." "Quid est pulchritudo?" "Flos marcidus, carnalis felicitas, humana concupiscentia." "Quid est "mulier?" "Hominis confusio, insaturabilis bestia, continua sollicitudo, "indesinens pugna, viri incontinentis naufragium, humanum mancipium." "Quid est amicus?" "Desiderabile nomen, homo vix apparens, infelici-"tatis refugium, indesinens felicitas." "Quid divitiæ?" "Auri pondus, "curarum minister, delectatio injocunda, insatiabilis invidia, desiderium "inexplebile, os excelsum, invisa concupiscentia." "Quid est paupertas?" "Odibile bonum, sanitatis mater, curarum remotio, sapientiæ repertrix, "negotium sine damno, possessio absque calumnia, sine sollicitudine "felicitas." "Quid senectus?" "Optatum malum, mors viventium, in-"columis languor, spirans mors." "Quid somnus?" "Mortis imago, "laborum quies, infirmantium votum, miserorum desiderium." "Quid "est vita?" "Beatorum lætitia, miserorum mœstitia, exspectatio mortis."

[Foot note—*continued.*]
"Quid est mors?" "Æternus somnus, divitum pavor, pauperum desiderium, inevitabilis eventus, latro hominis, fuga vitæ, resolutio omnium." "Quid est verbum?" "Proditor animi.' "Quid est corpus?" "Domicilium animæ." "Quid est barba?" "Sexus discretio." "Quid est cerebrum?" "Custos memoriæ." "Quid frons?" "Imago animi." "Quid oculi?" "Duces corporis, vasa luminis, judices animi." "Quid est cor?" "Receptaculum vitæ." "Quid jecur?" "Custodia caloris." "Quid fel?" "Suscitatio iracundiæ." "Quid splen?" "Risus et lætitiæ capax." "Quid est stomachus?" "Ciborum coquus." "Quid ossa?" "Robur corporis.'" "Quid pedes?" "Mobile fundamentum." "Quid est ventus?" "Aeris perturbatio, mobilitas aquarum, siccitas terræ." "Quid sunt flumina?" "Cursus indeficiens, refectio solis, irrigatio terræ." "Quid est amicitia?" "Æqualitas animorum." "Quid fides?" "Ignotæ rei miranda certitudo." "Quid est quod hominem lassum finire non sinit?" "Lucrum."

The same hand which has transcribed the story of Secundus, continues with the following supposititious letter, which Savile did not print. The heading only is a forgery, the rest being an extract from John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, lib. viii. cap. 23.

"Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Johanni Salesberiensi, familiari suo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Iste Johannes, Anglicus natione, de eodem Adriano, qui erat nationis ejusdem, talia refert: Audivi papam Adrianum dicentem quod Romano papa nemo miserabilior est, conditione ejus nulla est miserior. Fatebatur enim in eadem sede tantas miserias invenisse, quod facta collatione præsentium ad præterita, tota præsens jocunditas et felicitas sibi fuit amaritudo respectu vitæ præsente, dampnosam enim dicebat cathedram Romani pontificis, in tantum acutissimis usquequaque consutam aculeis, tantæque molis ut robustissimos premat terat et diminuat, humeros, coronam et frigium clara merito videri quia ignea sunt. Asserebat quoque se nunquam a natali solo Angliæ malle exisse, aut in claustro Beati Rufi apud Valenciam perpetuo latuisse, quam tantas intrasse angustias, nisi quia Divinæ dispensationi reluctari non auderet. Hoc etiam sæpissime mihi adjecit, quod cum de gradu in gradum a claustrali clerico per omnia officia ad summum pontificium ascendisset, nihil unquam felicitatis aut tranquillæ quietis vitæ priori adjectum est, et ut verbis ejus utar, 'In incude,' inquit, 'et malleo semper dilatavit me Dominus, sed nunc oneri quod infirmitati meæ imposuit, si placet, supponat dexteram, quoniam mihi importabile est.' Nonne miseria dignus est qui pro tanta pugnat miseria? Sic ditissimus qui est dominus sequenti die pauper erit, et infinitis fere creditoribus tenebitur obligatus. Ambire ergo summum pontificium, et non sine fraterno sanguine ad illud ascendere, est Romulo succedere in parricidiis, non Petro in ovibus pascendis. Bene ergo dicitur non tam nuncupative quam etiam substantive, Summus Pontifex, servus servorum, servit enim servis avaritiæ, id est, Romanis: necesse est adeo ut nisi servierit, fiat aut expontifex aut ex-Romanus." This is found also in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, lib. xxix. c. iii., whence the copyist probably took it.

Tertius annus regni Johannis regis Angliæ.

A.D. 1200. Dec. 25. John keeps Christmas at Guildford.

[1] Anno gratiæ MºCCºIº., qui erat annus tertius regni Johannis regis Angliæ, fuit idem rex die Natalis Domini, quæ feria secunda evenit, in Anglia apud Geldeforde.[2] Eodem die Willelmus rex Scottorum fuit in terra sua apud Lanarch. Eodem die Otho rex Alemannorum, nepos Johannis regis Anglorum, fuit apud Maguntum coronatus.

A.D. 1201. Jan. 9. Earthquake in Yorkshire.

Post Natale Domini, quinto idus Januarii, auditus est terræmotus magnus in Anglia apud Eboracum, et in finibus ejus.

John visits Lincoln and tries to appoint a new bishop.

Post Natale Domini Johannes rex Angliæ venit Lincolinum, et non potuit convenire inter illum et canonicos Lincolniensis ecclesiæ de electione episcopi. Voluit enim rex pro sua voluntate eligere, et canonici volebant liberam habere electionem, quam rex eis concedere noluit.

Jan. 25. He visits Cottingham. Jan. 26. He visits Beverley.

Eodem anno[3] mense Januarii, die Conversionis Sancti Pauli, feria quinta, Johannes[4] rex Angliæ transivit fluvium Humbri, et venit ad Cottingham,[5] et hospitatus est cum Villelmo de Stutevilla; et in crastino venit ipse Beverlacum, et pretio conductus hospitatus est cum Johanne Crasso, Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi[6] excommunicato: et cum canonici Beverlacenses vellent eum cum processione et sonitu campanarum recipere, noluit recipi, nec permisit eos sonare. Et in recessu suo de Beverlaco captus est et incarceratus Henricus de Capella, serviens Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, ea ratione, quod idem serviens non permisit[7] regem quicquam habere de vinis archiepiscopi. Præcepit etiam idem rex, quod omnes servientes archiepiscopi Eboracensis, ubicunque inventi fuissent, caperentur: et ita factum est.

He imprisons one of archbishop Geoffrey's servants.

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[1] Here MSS. B. D. I. G. resume.

[2] *Geldeforde*] Gildeforde, B.; Geltefordia, G.

[3] *anno*] om. I.

[4] *Johannes*] om. B. I.

[5] *Cottingham*] Cotingham, B. I.

[6] *Gaufridi . . . archiepiscopi*] a Galfrido Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo, Savile.

[7] *permisit*] om. I.

Mense autem Februarii, in Purificatione Sanctæ Mariæ, Johannes rex Angliæ, et Ysabel regina uxor ejus, fuerunt apud Scartheburg;[1] et inde processit rex, et perrexit usque ad fines regni sui; et perambulabat terram, et homines regni redemit, id est, ad redemptionem coegit; imponens eis quod per eos gwastata erat foresta ejus. Cumque venisset ad Extoldesham, et audisset quod apud Choresbrige esset thesaurus absconditus, fecit ibi fodere, sed nihil inventum est præter lapides signatos ære et ferro et plumbo.

A.D. 1201. Feb. 2. The king and queen at Scarborough.

John visits Hexham and excavates at Corbridge.

Eodem anno,[2] in vigilia Purificationis Beatæ Mariæ, Willelmus Glascuensis episcopus applicuit in Angliam apud Duvere, rediens de consecratione sua.

Feb. 1. The bishop of Glasgow lands.

Eodem anno, statim post Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ, Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus transfretavit inter Dovere[3] et Vissant, iturus ad Sanctum Jacobum in peregrinatione.

The bishop of Durham goes to Compostella.

De interfectione Rotheric Machdunlef.

Eodem anno, inter Natale Domini et caput Jejunii, interfectus est in Ultonia Rotherich Machdunlef,[4] ad horreum quoddam alborum monachorum, a servientibus Johannis de Curci, ipso Johanne nesciente, ut dicitur; et postquam scivit, valde pœnituit; qui pro facto illo interfectores illos relegavit.

January or February. Murder of Roderic Machdunlef.

In medio autem Quadragesimæ, Johannes rex Angliæ, et Ysabel regina uxor sua, fuerunt apud Eboracum; et Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus pacificavit se regi per pœnam pecuniariam, ita quod per considerationem quatuor episcoporum et quatuor baronum, ex parte regis et ex parte archiepiscopi electorum, emendabuntur excessus utriusque partis.

Mar. 4. The king and queen at York. The archbishop comes to terms.

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[1] *Scartheburg*] Scardeburc, B. I.

[2] *Eodem anno*] MS. G. omits all as far as the end of the pope's letter, below, p. 160. MS. D. omits this paragraph.

[3] *Dovere*] Doure, B.; Duere, I.

[4] *Rotherich Machdunlef*] Rotherich et Machdunlef, B.; Roterich, D. Called king of Ulidia. Ware's *Ireland*, p. 39.

A.D. 1201. March 4. The archbishop absolves his enemies.

Ibidem etiam Willelmus de Stutevilla, et Jacobus de Poterna, quos archiepiscopus excommunicaverat, ab eodem absoluti sunt.

De obitu Reginaldi Arundel præcentoris Eboracensis.

Reginald Arundel dies.

Interim Reginaldus Arundel, Eboracensis ecclesiæ præcentor, obiit.

Iterum causa discordiæ inter archiepiscopum Eboracensem et Symonem decanum.

The dean of York refuses to admit the archbishop's nominee to the archdeaconry of Cleveland.

Quo audito, cum Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus præcentoriam illam uni de suis dare vellet, non permiserunt decanus et capitulum; sed invito archiepiscopo, dederunt Hugoni Murdac archdiaconatum de Clivelande, quem idem archiepiscopus pridie dederat magistro Radulfo de Kyme, officiali suo ; et cum archiepiscopus vellet mittere eum in stallum vice præcentoris, dixit ei decanus, " Non est vestrum mittere quenquam " in stallum, nec hunc mittetis, quia nos auctoritate " Lateranensis concilii dedimus archdiaconatum illum."

The archbishop excommunicates the dean's nominee.

Cumque archiepiscopus pro voluntate sua in his procedere nequivisset, excommunicavit Hugonem Murdac.

Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, complains of the archbishop to the pope.

Interim Honorius archdiaconus de Richemund Romam profectus est, propter injurias quas Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ei fecerat ; qui, contra antiquas archidiaconatus de Richemund dignitates et consuetudines, vendicabat sibi institutiones ecclesiarum et synodalia. Dicebat enim archiepiscopus, quod idem Honorius omnia ista ei resignavit, et carta sua confirmavit. Contra quod Honorius modis omnibus veniens, conquestus est domino papæ Innocentio de injuriis quas ei fecerat Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et litteras ab eo in hunc modum impetravit.[1]

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[1] *Interim . . . impetravit*] omitted in B. C. D. I. with the following letter.

Epistola Innocentii papæ ad Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, pro magistro Honorio.

A.D. 1201. Feb. 3.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, archiepiscopo "Eboraci, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Si magis- "terium recognosceres apostolicæ sedis, et debitam ei reve- "rentiam et obedientiam exhiberes, non præsumeres pleni- "tudini potestatis ipsius et privilegio dignitatis in aliquo "derogare, cum ab ea in partem sollicitudinis evocatus, ipsam "in tuis necessitatibus, in quas temere teipsum induxeras, "senseris sæpius adjutricem. Non enim excusare te potes, "vel[1] debes, quod illud privilegium ignoraris, per quod "omnibus injuste gravatis facultas patet ad sedem apostolicam "appellandi; cum et tu ipse aliquando ad nostram audientiam "appellaris, et a tuis gravaminibus non semel sed sæpius "ad nos fuerit appellatum, nec ipsum privilegium te licuerit "ignorare. Verum, ut cessent cætera, ex eo solo ad invoca- "tionem nostri nominis a subditorum tuorum molestationibus "debueras abstinere, quod in multis et arduis negotiis, et "petisti et obtinuisti favorem tibi apostolicum exhiberi. Sed, "ut rerum monstrat effectus, nec auctoritatem nostram attendis, "nec factam tibi gratiam recognoscis, nec appellationibus "defers, quæ interponuntur ad sedem apostolicam, a gravatis.[2]

The pope reminds the archbishop of York that he should be careful not to infringe other men's privileges.

"Ecce enim cum dilectus filius noster magister Honorius, "Richemundi archidiaconus, in plena possessione libertatum "archidiaconatus Richemundi existens, cum clericis suis a te, "propter manifesta gravamina et varias injurias, ad sedem "apostolicam appellaverant, tu nihilominus in eum et quosdam "clericos suos suspensionis, et [in] aliquas ecclesias archidia- "conatus ejusdem interdicti sententiam promulgasti. Nec hoc "contentus excessu, postquam ipse iter arripuit ad sedem "apostolicam veniendi, suspensis quibusdam clericis ejus, et "ecclesiis interdictis, et excommunicatis quibusdam, de facto "tantum, quia de jure non potuisti, certam a cæteris extor- "sisti pecuniæ quantitatem, statum ejus et clericorum suorum "turbans in pluribus et confundens. Quia vero tantæ præ- "sumptionis excessum incorrectum nec volumus nec debemus "relinquere, tuæ fraternitati per apostolica scripta mandamus, "atque præcipimus, quod taliter, quæ prædicta sunt, corrigas "per teipsum, quod adversum te nos non cogas durius com- "moveri, qui toleravimus hactenus temeritatem tuam in multis. "Alioquin noveris nos venerabili fratri Eliensi episcopo, et

His treatment of archdeacon Honorius has been unjust.

He orders him to correct the abuses.

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[1] *vel*] ut, Savile.

[2] *a gravatis*] agravatos, A.

A.D. 1201. Feb. 3. The bishop of Ely and the abbot of Waltham are to enforce the execution of this mandate.

" dilecto filio abbati de Valtham, per scripta nostra præcipiendo " mandasse, ut prædictas excommunicationis, suspensionis, et " interdicti sententias taliter a te illatas nullas esse denuncient; " et te ad restitutionem eorum, quæ vel a clericis vel ab eccle- " siis archidiaconatus ejusdem, post appellationem ad nos legi- " time interpositam, extorsisti, et recompensationem damnorum, " per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, compel- " lerent; et quicquid per te vel tuos in præjudicium ejus " vel suorum invenerint immutatum, in statum pristinum " nostra freti auctoritate reducant; et sub præmissa te dis- " trictione compescant, ne archidiaconum vel ejus clericos " injuste molestes, aut statum vel libertates eorum audeas " perturbare, sciturus pro certo quod, cum durum sit tibi " contra stimulum calcitrare, nisi abstineas ab hujusmodi, et " mandatis nostris reverenter obedias, manus nostras in te " ultra forte quam timeas curabimus aggravare, ne tui nobis " imputentur excessus. Datum Laterani, iii^tio nonas Febru- " arii, pontificatus nostri anno [1]."

Tertia coronatio Johannis regis Angliæ, et secunda coronatio Ysabel reginæ.

March 25. Coronation of John and Isabella at Canterbury.

Eodem anno,[2] videlicet ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo ducentesimo primo, qui erat annus tertius regni Johannis regis Angliæ, idem rex, et Ysabel regina uxor ejus, fuerunt apud Cantuariam coronati ab Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, in ecclesia cathedrali, die Paschæ, quæ nono[3] kalendas Aprilis evenit, festo Annunciationis Dominicæ, præsentibus Johanne Dublicensi archiepiscopo, et Willelmo Lundoniensi, et Gilleberto Rofensi, et Eustacio Eliensi, et Johanne Nortwicensi episcopis. Et statim post Pascha præcepit rex, ut comites et barones Angliæ essent apud Portesmue ad Pentecosten, parati equis et armis ad transfretandum cum illo. Pictavi enim prævaluerunt adversus custodes terrarum suarum, et castella sua obsederunt; et Varinus de Clapiun, senescallus Normanniæ, ex mandato domini

The king orders a general levy at Portsmouth at Whitsuntide May 13.

[1] The word [quarto] necessary for the completion of the date is omitted.

[2] Here MSS. B. D. G. I. resume. MS. G. reads " Eodem anno præfatis " rex," &c.

[3] Properly " octavo."

sui Johannis regis Angliæ obsederat castellum de Driencurt, quod Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat Radulfo de Yssoudun, comiti de Auco, fratri Hugonis le Brun. Sed audito adventu regis Angliæ, Philippus rex Franciæ solvit omnes prædictas obsidiones, antequam rex Angliæ veniret in Normanniam. Interim comites Angliæ convenerunt ad colloquium inter eos habitum apud Leicestre, et ex communi consilio mandaverunt regi quod non transfretarent cum illo, nisi ille reddiderit eis jura sua. Rex autem, malo usus consilio, petebat ab eis castella sua; et incipiens a Willelmo de Albenio, petiit ab eo castellum de Beauvaer;[1] cui idem Willelmus satisfaciens, tradidit filium suum in obsidem, et ita castellum suum retinuit.

A.D. 1201. March. War in Normandy.

The English earls meet at Leicester and demand their rights.

John demands the surrender of their castles.

Eodem anno Willelmus de Stutevilla constitutus est a rege vicecomes Eboraci.

William Stuteville, sheriff of Yorkshire.

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus fuit die Paschæ, in eundo versus Sanctum Jacobum, apud Sanctum Johannem de Angeli, ubi est caput Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quod Herodes fecit amputari in carcere, et dedit in disco saltatrici filiæ Herodiadis uxoris suæ.

March 25. Philip, bishop of Durham, was at St. Jean d'Angeli at Easter.

Eodem die Willelmus rex Scottorum fuit in Scottia apud Karel.[2]

William of Scotland at Karel.

De Diabolo jam soluto.

Eodem anno, regnantibus Innocentio papa tertio in urbe Romana, et Saffadino[3] fratre Saladini in sancta civitate Jerushalem, et Alexandro fratricida in civitate Constantinopolitana, et Leone in Ermenia; et Aymerico de Lezinnan[4] in civitatibus Tyri et Sidonis, et Accaron, et in insula de Cypro; et Raimundo principante in

Satan loosed.

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[1] *Beauvaer*] Beauver, B. Bewer, D. Beauveir, G. Bauuer, I.

[2] *Eodem anno . . . Karel*] G. omits these three clauses. D. omits the last.

[3] *Saffadino*] Saphadino, I.

[4] *Lezinnan*] Lizinan, B.I.

A.D. 1201. Satan loosed. civitate Antiochena; et Othone, fratre Henrici ducis Saxoniæ in Alemannia, electo in Romanorum imperatorem; et Philippo in Francia, et Johanne in Anglia, et Swero Birkebain in Nortweia, et Cnut in Dacia, et Willelmo in Scotia, et Guthered in insula de Man, et Johanne de Curci in Ulvestrre; doctores nostri prædicaverunt solutum esse draconem illum antiquum, qui est diabolus et Sathanas; dicentes, "Væ, væ, væ habi-"tantibus in terra, quoniam solutus est antiquus draco, "qui est diabolus et Satanas,"[1] juxta illud Beati Johannis apostoli et evangelistæ, qui supra pectus Domini in cœna recubuit, et Evangelii fluenta de ipso sacro Dominici pectoris fonte potavit, dicentis: "Ego "Johannes vidi angelum descendentem de cœlo haben-"tem clavem abyssi, et catenam magnam in manu sua; "et apprehendit draconem antiquum, qui est diabolus "et Satanas, et religavit eum per annos mille, et misit "eum in abyssum, et clausit, et signavit super eum, "ut non seducat amplius gentes donec consumentur "mille anni, et post hæc oportet eum solvi modico Rev. xx. 3.
"tempore." Asserebant itaque doctores nostri illos mille annos jam esse consumptos, et diabolum solutum. Væ terræ et[2] habitantibus in ea, quia si diabolus ligatus tot et tanta intulerit[3] mala mundo, quot et quanta inferet solutus? Precemur ergo Deum supplices,

"Ut in diurnis actibus,
"Nos servet a nocentibus;[4]
"Linguam refrænans temperet,
"Ne litis horror insonet,
"Visum fovendo contegat,
"Ne vanitates hauriat.
"Sint pura cordis intima,
"Absistat et vecordia,
"Carnis terat superbiam

[1] *dicentes . . . Satanas*] om. I.

[2] *et*] om. I.

[3] *intulerit*] intulit, B.I.

[4] *nocentibus*] MSS. D. and G. omit the rest of the extract.

"Potus cibique parcitas, A.D. 1201.
"Ut cum [1] Judex advenerit
"Christus in fine sæculi,
"Nos sempiterni gaudii
"Faciat esse compotes." [2]

Eodem anno, mense Maii, in vigilia Ascensionis Domini,[3] obiit Valterus de Gant, primus abbas canonicorum regularium de Sancta Cruce de Waltham. May 2. The abbot of Waltham dies.

Eodem anno, in hebdomada Pentecostes, cum barones Angliæ essent congregati apud Portesmue ad transfretandum cum rege, rex cepit de quibusdam illorum pecuniam quam expenderent in servitio suo, et permisit eos domum redire; et præmisit in Normanniam Villelmum Marescallum, comitem de Strigwil, cum centum militibus soldariis,[4] et Rogerum de Lasci,[5] constabularium Cestriæ, cum aliis centum militibus, ad reprimendum impetum inimicorum suorum in finibus Normanniæ. Et rex tradidit Huberto de Burgo camerario suo centum milites, et constituit eum custodem finium Angliæ et Valliæ. May 14. John takes money of the assembled barons and sends them home. William Marshall and Roger de Lacy sent to Normandy. Hubert de Burgh guardian of the marches of Wales.

Deinde idem rex perdonavit Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo iram suam, et reddidit ei servientes suos liberos, et maneria sua; et confirmavit ei carta sua libertates ecclesiæ Eboracensis, et archiepiscopatus sui, sicut Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus eas habuit. Et pro illa confirmatione idem archiepiscopus spopondit, se daturum regi infra annum istum [6] mille libras [7] esterlingorum; et super hoc posuit archiepiscopus baroniam suam regi in pignore. Geoffrey of York purchases his restoration.

Deinde rex Angliæ misit Gaufridum Cestrensem episcopum, et Ricardum Malebisse, et Henricum de John sends to the king of Scots.

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[1] *cum*] om. B.I.

[2] *compotes*] These lines are partly in the margin of MS. A., and have been cut in the binding. They are from the Hymn "Jam lucis orto "sidere."

[3] *Domini*] om. B.I.

[4] *soldariis*] solidariis, I.

[5] *Lasci*] om. I.

[6] *annum istum*] unum annum, B.

[7] *libras*] marcas, B.

A.D. 1201. May.

to defer his answer till Michaelmas.

Puteaco, ad Willelmum regem Scottorum, et petiit, ut terminus respondendi, de petitione quam fecerat de comitatu Northimbriæ, quem statuerat ei rex Angliæ ad Pentecosten, prorogaretur usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis.

May 14. John goes to the Isle of Wight; the Queen to Normandy.

After a few days John goes to Normandy and meets Philip at Andely.

Thence to Paris, and then to Chinon, where he meets and satisfies Berengaria.

Deinde rex Angliæ et Ysabel regina ascenderunt naves, transfretaturi feria secunda in hebdomada Pentecostes, sed rex applicuit in insula Vectæ, et regina uxor ejus aliam navem ingressa, prosperis gavisa ventis, applicuit in Normannia. Et post aliquot dies facta mora in Anglia, Johannes rex iterum navem intravit apud Portesmue, et transfretavit in Normanniam: et statim habitum est colloquium inter ipsum et regem Franciæ, prope insulam de Andeli, et bene convenit inter eos; nemine colloquii illorum conscio præter illos duos. Et post triduum Johannes rex ad preces regis Franciæ venit Parisius,[1] et in palatio regis Franciæ hospitatus est, et honorifice procuratus; et rex Franciæ alias se transtulit hospitaturus. Et recedens inde rex Angliæ perrexit ad Chinonem;[2] et venit illuc ad eum Berengera quondam regina Angliæ, uxor Ricardi regis, cui Johannes rex Angliæ satisfecit de dote sua, secundum testimonium Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi, et cæterorum, qui interfuerunt desponsationi suæ.

Interim Innocentius papa, super afflictos pia gerens viscera, in hac forma scripsit ecclesiarum prælatis.[3]

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[1] *Parisius*] Rigord dates John's visit May 31st, but it appears from the *Itinerary* that he was at Paris on the 1st of July. So that possibly the former was the date of his crossing to Normandy. He was at Bonneville-sur-Toque on the 2nd of June.

[2] *Chinonem*] John was at Chinon on the 26th of July. The agreement with Berengaria is described further on.

[3] *Interim . . . prælatis*] Omitted with the following letter in MSS. B. D. G. I. MS. G. omits all that follows as far as *lucri causa*, p. 172 below; and proceeds to give the account of Berengaria's settlement as at p. 172. MS. C. does give the following letter.

A.D. 1201. May 5.

Epistola Innocentii papæ pro auxilio faciendo terræ Jerosolimitanæ.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, per regnum Angliæ "constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Justus "et misericors Deus noster, Qui quos amat arguit et casti-"gat, nec obliviscitur misereri, nec continet misericordiam "Suam in ira: et si virgæ non parcat, ne odisse filios videa-"tur, sic tamen circa delinquentes justi judicii Sui moderatur "examen, quod non flagellat ut perdat, sed quasi perditos "revocet per flagella, nolens mortem peccatorum, sed ut con-"vertantur et vivant; quoniam majus gaudium est angelis "Dei super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente, quam super "nonaginta novem justis, qui non indigent pœnitentia. Cum "enim proni sint sensus hominum in malum ab adolescentia "sua, et humana natura proclivior ad peccandum, ne, si "prosperis tantum extollantur, superbiant, et superbia eorum "semper ascendat adversos ipsos, fatigari permittit, ut cum "ex meritis suis se affligi cognoverint, justitiam judicantis "agnoscant, et culpam suæ pœnitentiæ lacrymis diluentes, "ipsi convertantur ad Dominum, et Dominus convertatur ad "eos; quod in exterminio terræ Orientalis fas est omnibus "intueri. Sane cum homines, mundo jam senescente, in vir-"tute senescerent, et adolescentes vitiorum semitis, quasi "centum annorum pueri lascivirent, omnesque fere, sicut oves "errantes, in viam suam, carnis dediti voluptatibus, declinas-"sent, voluit Dominus in occupatione Jerosolimitanæ provin-"ciæ punire sic nostros excessus, ut passionis Suæ quodam-"modo mysterium innovando, et pœnitentiæ januam et salutis "nobis aditum aperiret. Qui enim peccata nostra in corpore "Suo super lignum pertulit, crucifixus iterum in ligno ad "nostrorum absolutionem criminum, Se quasi permisit affligi, "dum crucem in qua salus nostra pependit, et quam proprio "sanguine rubricavit, a Sarracenis occupari passus est, et "tam diu detineri, ut videat si quis doloribus Ejus doleret, "si quis dari sibi peteret corpus Ejus, si quis involutum sin-"done deponeret in sepulcrum, et in sepulcro positum cum "aromatibus visitaret. Gaudemus autem in Domino, quod "Ipse, Qui pœnitentiæ causam dedit, multis affectum tribuit "pœnitendi, et eis misericorditer inspiravit, ut assumpto "crucis signaculo, ulcisci velint injuriam Jesu Christi, illud "evangelicum adimplentes: 'Qui vult venire post Me, abne-

The pope reminds the archbishops and bishops of the uses of tribulation.

S. Luke, xv. 7.

The loss of Palestine was a warning from above.

A.D. 1201. May 5. He insists on the fulfilment of the vow of crusade.

" 'get semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur Me;' S. Matt. xvi. 24.
" ut sic relicta gibbi sarcina, transeat per foramen acus camelus, et dives pauper effectus regnum cœlorum introeat, et recipiat pro momentaneis sempiterna. Quia vero multi, sicut accepimus, et referimus cum mœrore, abeuntes retro, crucis deposuere signaculum; ne venisse in vacuum videantur, si non reddiderint quod voverint, fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, et districte præcipimus, quatenus eis indulgentia non obstante, siqua forsan a prædecessoribus nostris apparuerit per surreptionem obtenta, ut crucis signum recipiant, monitione præmissa, per excommunicationis et interdicti sententiam appellatione postposita compellatis, facientes eos singulis Dominicis diebus et festivis, pulsatis campanis et candelis accensis, expressis nominibus de quibus habetis vel habebitis notitiam, excommunicatos publice nunciari, et quocunque devenerint, officia celebrari Divina, eis præsentibus, prohibentes. Universos autem, qui crucis signaculum acceperunt, moneatis attentius, et, si necesse fuerit, per districtionem ecclesiasticam compellatis, ut ad terminum quem dilecti filii, nobiles viri Flandrensis, Campanensis, Blesensis comites cum aliis deliberatione provida de sapientium consilio præfixerint, in æstate futura peregrinationis propositum exsequantur, ut, sicut Terræ Sanctæ magis expedire dinoscitur, obsequium Suum Domino simul omnes impendant. Illam quoque districtionem, quam in eis qui crucis deposuerunt signaculum, ad illud resumendum exerceri mandamus, sub eadem forma exerceatis in eis, qui usque ad quinquennium torneamenta præsumpserint frequentare; nec prius relaxari sententias quas in tales tuleritis, quam torniamenta usque ad prædictum terminum solemniter abjuraverint; ne sanguis Domino consecrandus, quo de levi possint hoc tempore cœlestia comparari, fundatur dæmonibus in stragem corpoream, et perniciem animarum. Ad hæc singuli vestrum in suis diocesibus parochianos suos salubriter moneant, et diligenter inducant, eis remissionis apostolicæ formam frequentius exponentes, ut signum vivificæ crucis assumant, ut saltem in rebus suis juxta facultates proprias Terræ Sanctæ subveniant; ne, si Christo in hujus necessitatis articulo noluerint subvenire, ab Eo sibi nunc et in futurum frustra postulent subvenire. Super his autem omnibus te, frater Cantuariensis, executorem statuimus, qui ad hoc excites diligentius negligentes. Præterea districte vobis præcipiendo mandamus, ut juxta quod vobis per alias litteras dedimus in mandatis, singuli vestrum in suis diocesibus quadragesimam de universis ecclesiarum et ecclesiasticis redditibus et proventibus

The preparations for a new crusade.

Tournaments forbidden.

The bishops are to urge their flocks to go on the crusade.

"clericorum instanter exigant, exactam colligant diligenter, et "collectam fideliter faciant custodiri sine diminutione qualibet "in Terræ Sanctæ subsidium erogandam; mandatum apostoli"cum taliter impleturi, ut obedientiam vestram intelligamus "ex opere; ac qualiter in aliis procedatis, in hac non tam "vestra quam Christi necessitate plenius agnoscamus. Datum "Laterani, iii^tio nonas Maii, pontificatus nostri anno quarto."

A.D. 1201. May 5. A fortieth of church revenues to be devoted to the purpose.

Eodem anno[1] Eustacius abbas de Flay rediit in Angliam, et prædicans in ea verbum Domini de civitate in civitatem, et de loco in locum, prohibuit ne quis forum rerum venalium in diebus Dominicis exerceret. Dicebat enim quod hoc mandatum subscriptum de observatione diei Dominicæ venit de cœlo;

Eustace abbot of Flay preaches the observance of Sunday.

Hoc est mandatum Dei de observatione diei Dominicæ quod dominus Eustacius abbas de Flay testatur venisse de cœlo.

"Mandatum sanctum Dominicæ diei, quod de cœlo venit in "Jerusalem, et inventum est super altare Sancti Symeonis, "quod est in Golgatha,[2] ubi Christus crucifixus est pro pec"catis mundi. Et mandavit Dominus hanc epistolam, quæ "apprehensa[3] super altare Sancti Simeonis; quam per tres "dies et tres noctes homines aspicientes corruerunt in terram, "rogantes Dei misericordiam; et post horam tertiam erexit se "patriarcha, et Akarias[4] archiepiscopus, et expanderunt infu"lam, et sanctam acceperunt epistolam Dei.[5] Quam cum ac"cepissent invenerunt superscriptum istud, 'Ego Dominus. "'Qui præcepi vobis, ut observaretis diem sanctum Domini"'cum, et non custodistis eum, et de peccatis vestris non "'pœnituistis, sicut dixi per Evangelium Meum: Cœlum et "'terra transibunt, verba autem Mea non transient.[6] Feci "'autem prædicare vobis pœnitentiam vitæ, et non credidis"'tis, et misi super vos paganos gentes,[7] qui effuderunt san"'guinem vestrum in terra, nec tamen credidistis, et quia

Copy of a letter which the abbot of Flay declared to have come down from heaven.

S. Mark, xiii. 31.

[1] *Eodem anno*] Here B. I. resume.
[2] *Golgatha*] Goltgatha, I.
[3] *apprehensa*] inventa est, D.
[4] *Akarias*] Acharias, I.
[5] *Dei*] om. I.
[6] *transient*] transibunt, Savile.
[7] *gentes*] om. D.

A.D. 1201.

Copy of a letter on the keeping of the Lord's day, which Eustace abbot of Flay said had come down from heaven.

" 'sanctum diem Dominicum non custodistis, per paucos dies " 'habuistis famem; sed cito dedi vobis saturitatem, et pos- " 'tea pejus fecistis. Volo iterum, ut nemo ab hora nona " 'Sabbati usque ad solem surgentem diei Lunæ aliquid ope- " 'retur, nisi quod bonum sit. Quod si quis fecerit, cum " 'pœnitentia emendet; et si huic mandato non obedieritis, " 'Amen dico vobis, et juro vobis per sedem Meam, et thro- " 'num Meum, et Cherubin qui custodiunt sanctam sedem " 'Meam, quia non mandabo vobis aliquid per aliam episto- " 'lam: sed aperiam cœlos, et pro pluviam pluam super vos " 'lapides et ligna et aquam calidam per noctes, ut nemo " 'præcavere possit, quin destruam omnes malos homines. " 'Hoc dico vobis, Morte moriemini propter diem Dominicum " 'sanctum, et alias festivitates sanctorum Meorum, quas non " 'custodistis; mittam vobis bestias habentes capita leonum, " 'capillos mulierum, caudas camelorum, et ita erunt famelicæ " 'quod carnes vestras devorabunt; et vos desiderabitis fu- " 'gere ad sepulcrum mortuorum, et abscondere vos propter " 'metum bestiarum; et tollam lumen solis ab oculis vestris, " 'et mittam super vos tenebras, ut occidatis vos invicem non " 'videntes; et auferam a vobis faciem Meam, et non faciam " 'vobiscum misericordiam. Incendam enim corpora vestra, " 'et corda[1] illorum qui non custodiunt diem sanctum Do- " 'minicum. Audite vocem Meam, ne pereatis in terra prop- " 'ter diem Dominicum sanctum. Recedite a malo, et pœni- " 'tentiam agite de malis vestris. Quod si non feceritis, " 'quasi Sodoma et Gomorra peribitis. Nunc scitote quod " 'salvi estis per orationes sanctissimæ Genitricis Meæ Mariæ, " 'et sanctorum angelorum Meorum, qui orant pro vobis quo- " 'tidie. Dedi vobis triticum et vinum abundanter, et inde " 'non obedistis Mihi. Nam viduæ et orphani clamant ad vos " 'quotidie, quibus nullam facitis misericordiam. Pagani " 'habent misericordiam, vos autem non habetis. Arbores, " 'quæ fructificant, siccari faciam pro[2] peccatis: flumina et " 'fontes non dabunt aquam. Dedi vobis legem in monte " 'Synai, quam non custodistis. Dedi per Me legem, quam " 'non observastis. Pro vobis natus fui in mundo, et festivi- " 'tatem Meam nescivistis. Pravi homines diem Dominicum " 'resurrectionis Meæ non custodistis. Juro vobis per dex- " 'tram Meam, nisi Dominicum diem et festivitates sancto- " 'rum Meorum custodieritis, mittam vobis paganos gentes, " 'ut occidant vos. Tollitis tamen res alterius, et de hoc " 'nullam considerationem habetis. Propter hoc mittam super

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[1] *corda*] et omnium, ins. D. | [2] *pro*] vestris, ins. D.

" 'vos bestias pejores, quæ devorent mulierum vestrarum " 'mamillas. Maledicam illis qui in die Dominica aliquid " 'mali operati fuerint. Maledicam illis qui injuste agunt " 'versus fratres suos. Maledicam illis qui male pauperes " 'et orphanos judicant, quos terra portat. Me autem dere- " 'linquitis, et principem hujus sæculi sequimini. Audite " 'vocem Meam et habebitis misericordiam bonam. Vos au- " 'tem non cessatis ab operibus malis, nec ab operibus dia- " 'boli; quia facitis perjuria, adulteria, ideo circumdabunt " 'vos gentes, et devorabunt ut bestiæ.' "

A.D. 1201. Letter on the keeping of Sunday.

Pervenit igitur dominus Eustacius abbas de Flay Eboracum, et a Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et clero et populo civitatis honorifice susceptus, prædicavit verbum Domini, et de transgressione Dominicæ diei, et aliarum festivitatum, dedit populo pœnitentiam et absolutionem, sub tali conditione, quod ipsi de cætero debitam impenderent Dominicæ diei, et aliis sanctorum festivitatibus, reverentiam, non faciendo in eis quicquam operis servilis, nec in diebus Dominicis exercerent forum rerum venalium, sed bonis operibus et orationibus devote insisterent. Hæc servanda constituit ab hora nona Sabbati usque ad ortum solis in die[1] Lunæ. Populus autem Deo devotus ad prædicationem illius voverunt Deo, quod de cætero in diebus Dominicis nec quicquam emerent nec venderent, nisi forte cibum et potum prætereuntibus. Voverunt etiam quod de singulis quinque solidatis rerum, quascunque venderent, darent unum quadrantem ad lumen ecclesiæ emendum, et ad sepulturam indigentium. Et ad hoc colligendum statuit prædictus abbas in singulis ecclesiis parochialibus fieri truncum concavum sub custodia duorum[2] vel trium fidelium hominum, ubi populus jactaret prænominatum æs. Statuit etiam præfatus abbas, quod discus[3] eleemosynarius haberetur quotidie in mensa divitum, in quo partem ciborum suorum mitterent ad opus indi-

The abbot of Flay visits York and preaches the observance of Sunday there.

He makes many converts;

orders alms-trunks to be set up in churches.

[1] *in die*] diei, I.
[2] *duorum*] duum, A.B.
[3] *discus*] om. I.

A.D. 1201. He forbids buying and selling in churches.

gentium, qui non præparaverunt sibi.[1] Prohibuit autem idem abbas, ne quis in ecclesiis vel atriis earum venderet vel emeret quicquam, aut placitaret. His ergo, et aliis sancti hujus viri monitis, inimicus humani generis invidens, misit in cor regis et principum tenebrarum, quod ipsi præceperunt, ut omnes qui prædictas traditiones custodirent, et maxime omnes qui in diebus Dominicis forum rerum venalium dejecerant, ad regium examen satisfacturi de observantia diei Dominicæ ducerentur.

Miraculum.

Miracle of Abbot Eustace at Beverley.

Sed Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Cui obediendum est magis quam hominibus, Qui nativitate, et resurrectione Sua, et adventu[2] Spiritus Sancti in discipulos, Sibi hunc diem, quam Dominicam vocamus, illustravit, et celeberrimum dedicavit, virtutis Suæ miracula suscitavit, et in quosdam Dominicæ diei transgressores manifestavit sic. Quodam Sabbato post nonam quidam carpentarius in Beverlaco, contra salubria uxoris suæ monita clavum ligneum faciens, corruit in terram percussus paralysi.

Miraculum.

Another.

Et quædam textrix in villa quæ dicitur , post horam nonam in Sabbato, cum ad pertexendum partem telæ anxius insisteret, cadens in terram percussa paralysi obmutuit.

Miraculum.

Miracle at Nafferton.

Et apud Naffertun, villam magistri Rogeri[3] Arundel, quidam homo fecit sibi panem subcinereum die Sabbati

[1] *præparaverunt sibi*] A good deal of this has been told already, almost in the same words; above, p. 124.

[2] *adventu*] Suo et missione, ins. Savile.

[3] *Rogeri*] de, ins. B.I.

post nonam, et comedit inde, et partem reservavit sibi usque mane; quem cum die Dominica fregisset, exivit sanguis, et qui vidit testimonium perhibuit, et verum est testimonium ejus. A.D. 1201.

Miraculum.

Miracle at Wakefield.

Et apud Wakefeld [1] quodam Sabbato, cum molendinarius post nonam operam daret ut bladum suum moleret, subito exivit loco farinæ tantus impetus sanguinis, quod vas subpositum pene impleretur sanguine, et rota molendini stetit immobilis contra vehementem impulsum aquæ; et qui viderant mirati sunt, dicentes, "Parce, Domine, parce populo Tuo."

Miraculum.

Miracle in Lincolnshire.

Item in Lincolniæsiria [2] paraverat quædam mulier pastam, quam deferens ad furnum post horam nonam Sabbati, misit eam in furnum calidissimum, et cum eam extraheret, invenit crudam; et iterum misit eam in furnum valde calidum, et in crastino, et in die Lunæ, cum æstimaret se invenisse panes coctos, invenit pastam crudam.

Miraculum.

Another miracle in Lincolnshire.

Item in eadem provincia, cum quædam mulier pastam suam præparasset, volens eam ad furnum portare, dixit ei vir suus, "Sabbatum est, et hora nona præ-"teriit; dimitte ergo usque ad diem Lunæ." Mulier autem obediens viro suo, fecit sicut præceperat, et involvit pastam linteaminibus mundis; et in crastino cum visitaret pastam suam, ne propter fermentum impositum vas excederet, invenit panes inde Divino nutu factos, et bene coctos sine igne materiali. Hæc est

[1] *Wakefeld*] Wakefeud, B.

[2] *Lincolniæsiria*] Lincolniesire, I. Lincolnieshire, B. Lincolnesire, D.

A.D. 1201. The effects of Abbot Eustace's preaching were only transient.

mutatio dexteræ Excelsi. Et quamvis omnipotens Dominus his et aliis potentiæ Suæ miraculis populum ad observationem diei Dominicæ invitaret, tamen populus, plus timens regiam et humanam[1] potestatem quam Divinam, plusque illos timens qui corpus occidunt, et quid ultra faciant non habent, quam illum, qui postquam corpus occiderit, animam potest mittere in gehennam, et plus timens terrena amittere quam cœlestia, et transitoria quam æterna, proh dolor! ut canis ad vomitum, reversus est ad forum rerum venalium exercendum in diebus Dominicis.

De relaxatione statuti regis Ricardi.

June 17. The justices attempt in vain to enforce the assize of measures at S. Botolph's fair.

Eodem anno Hugo Bardulfi, et alii quidam justitiarii regis, venerunt ad nundinas Sancti Botulfi, volentes capere in manu regis pannos laneos qui non habebant duas ulnas de latitudine infra lisuras, secundum assisam Ricardi regis. Quo audito, mercatores effecerunt adversus prædictos justitiarios, quod panni eorum non capiebantur, et quod diutius non teneret assisa illa Ricardi regis, neque de latitudine pannorum, neque de mensuris bladi; et ut liceat eis de cætero facere pannos suos latos vel strictos sicut eis placuerit. Unde prædicti justitiarii magnam adepti sunt pecuniam ad opus regis, in damnum multorum. Vitanda est turpis lucri causa.

Johannes rex Angliæ satisfecit Berengeræ, uxori Ricardi fratris sui, de dote sua.

August. Agreement of John with Berengaria.

Eodem anno,[2] Johannes rex Angliæ satisfaciens Berengeræ reginæ, uxori Ricardi regis Angliæ fratris sui,

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[1] *regiam et humanam*] So Savile. In A. the word *regiam* has been written first, and *humanam* interlined as if to take its place.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Here MS. G. resumes, and goes on as far as *episcopi*, p. 173, below. The agreement with Berengaria is given in the *Fœdera*, i. 84, dated Chinon, Aug. 2, 1201.

de dote sua, dedit ei in vita sua habere civitatem Bajocensem cum pertinentiis suis, et duo castella in Andegavia, et mille marcas esterlingorum singulis annis recipiendas, ex quibus ipsa recipiet singulis annis quingentas marcas Lundoniis ad scaccarium regis, et alias quingentas marcas in Normannia apud Cadomum. Hæc facta sunt apud Chinonem in præsentia Eliæ Burdegalensis archiepiscopi, et Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi.

A.D. 1201. August. She is to have Bayeux, two castles in Anjou, and a pension of 1000 marks.

De inquisitione facienda de cruciatis.

Eodem anno[1] Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, die Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli Lundoniis apud Vestmonasterium existens, præcepit universis suffraganeis suis, in virtute obedientiæ et ex parte domini papæ, ut ipsi, facta diligenti inquisitione per suas dioceses, compellerent, si quos invenissent viros qui crucis religionem abjecerant, cruces resumere, et iter peregrinationis suæ arripere, statuentes eis terminum crucis resumendæ ad ultimum infra festum Sancti Martini proximo sequens, et terminum motionis in Purificatione Sanctæ Mariæ proximo sequentis.

Aug. 24. The archbishop of Canterbury attempts to enforce the pope's mandate for a crusade.

Eodem anno obiit[2] Theobaldus comes Campaniæ, relinquens sibi hæredem filiam unicam, quam pepererat ei Blanchia uxor sua, soror Berengeræ reginæ Angliæ.

Theobald of Champagne dies.

Eodem anno obiit Teutonica,[3] filia [4] de Genest, uxor Philippi regis Franciæ, quam papa Innocentius in litteris suis adulteram nominabat; de qua præfatus rex genuerat filium et filiam. Filiam

Agnes of Meran dies.

[1] *Eodem anno*] MS. G. omits this sentence: and all that follows as far as *peregrinatione sua*, p. 174, below, is transposed to follow the story of Hugh de Lasci.

[2] *obiit*] Blank for name. Rigord gives the date May 24, p. 201.

[3] *Teutonica*] Theutonica, I. Agnes of Meran.

[4] *filia*] Blank in I. for the name Berhthold. MS. D. omits the paragraph.

A.D. 1201. autem illam concessit idem rex Franciæ se daturum Alexandro filio Willelmi regis Scotiæ in uxorem.[1]

Constance of Brittany dies.

Eodem anno obiit Constantia, mater Arturi ducis Britanniæ.

Margaret countess of Hereford dies.

Eodem anno obiit Margareta, mater prædictæ Constantiæ, soror Willelmi regis Scottorum, mater Henrici de Boum, comitis Herefordiæ.

Item discordia inter Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Symonem decanum.

Archbishop Geoffrey makes his brother Morgan provost of Beverley.

Eodem anno obiit Robertus præpositus Beverlacensis ecclesiæ; cujus præposituram Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus dedit Morgant[2] fratri suo, filio Henrici regis, ut dicebatur, contra appellationem Simonis Eboracensis ecclesiæ decani, qui dicebat præposituram illam sibi datam fuisse ab eodem archiepiscopo, dum adhuc viveret prædictus Robertus præpositus.

The bishop of Durham returns from Compostella.

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus rediit in Angliam de Sancto Jacobo, facta peregrinatione sua.

De Johanne Salernitano, Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali legato in Scotia.

John of Salerno, legate to Scotland, comes to York.

Eodem anno[3] Johannes Salernitanus, tituli Sancti Stephani in monte Celion presbyter cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus in Scotia, et in Hibernia, et in insulis adjacentibus, venit Eboracum. Qui cum esset unus de duobus electis in Romanum pontificem proximo post decessum Cœlestini papæ, electioni suæ renunciavit, licet decem cardinales in electione sua consensissent:

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[1] *uxorem*] Two lines and a half have been erased, following this word, A. MS. G. omits the clause *Filiam . . . uxorem.* See above, p. 138.

[2] *Morgant*] Called Morgan Bloeth. He was afterwards elected to the see of Durham, but disqualified by his illegitimacy.

[3] *Eodem anno*] MS. G. resumes.

et ipse cum cæteris cardinalibus elegit Lotarium diaconum cardinalem in Romanum pontificem, qui vocatus est papa Innocentius tertius.[1] Prædictus vero Johannes non manducavit carnem; vinum et siceram[2] non bibit, nec aliquid quo inebriari potuit; sed aurum et argentum sitivit. In præsentia autem hujus cardinalis Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus obtulit Simoni decano, et capitulo Eboraci, se in omnibus stare examini illius super omnibus querelis quæ inter illos vertebantur, salvis privilegiis et dignitatibus utriusque partis, et salvo jure. Sed hoc solum verbum, "salvo jure," erat onerosum et importabile illis, quos propriæ actionis accusabat intentio; et nitebantur ut verbum illud, "salvo "jure," tolleretur.

A.D. 1201

His abstinence from everything but money.

The archbishop offers to abide by his arbitration, but in vain.

De confirmatione pacis inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ.

Eodem anno,[3] ut pax firmior haberetur inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ, statutum est, et scripto confirmatum, quod si rex Franciæ in aliquo violaverit pacem, quam ipse cum rege Angliæ fecerat, barones Franciæ quos ipse fidejussores de servanda pace assignavit, a fidelitate sua cum omnibus hominibus eorum soluti, redirent ad regem Angliæ ad auxiliandum ei contra regem Franciæ. Similiter erit de baronibus regis Angliæ, quos ipse constituit fidejussores de pace servanda, qui in obsequium regis Franciæ convertentur cum hominibus eorum, a fidelitate regis Angliæ[4] soluti, si rex Angliæ pacem illam fuerit transgressus.

The sureties of the peace between John and Philip are to turn against their respective masters in case of their breaking the treaty.

[1] *tertius*] om. B.I.
[2] *siceram*] ciceram, A.
[3] *Eodem anno*] MS. G. breaks off again, and omits as far as *transgressus*, last line, below.
[4] *Angliæ*] om. I. Franciæ, B.

A.D. 1201.

De captione Johannis de Curci.

Walter de Lacy attempts to kill John de Courcy;

Eodem anno[1] Valterus de Lasci, vir potens in Hibernia, cepit colloquium cum Johanne de Curci, domino de Ulvestire,[2] et volens eum proditiose capere, multos de suis interfecit. Cum autem prædictus Johannes verteretur in fugam, dixit ei Hugo de Lasci, frater prædicti Valteri, "Domine, veni mecum, et re-"ceptabo te in castello meo, de quo homo vester sum, "donec exercitus vester congregetur, ut possitis vindi-"care vos de iis qui te oderunt semper." Credidit ergo illi prædictus Johannes, et intravit castellum tutus de præfato Hugone. Sed cum inde exire vellet, non permisit eum Hugo exire: immo cepit, traditurus eum regi Angliæ, qui a multo tempore desiderabat eum tenere. At homines prædicti Johannis die ac nocte non cessabant devastare ferro, flamma, fame, terras prædictorum Valteri et Hugonis de Lasci, donec liberaverunt dominum suum Johannem de Curci de captione[3] præfati Hugonis de Lasci.

who is taken by Hugh de Lacy and given up to the king.

His men ravage the estates of the Lacies.

John appeals the barons of Poictou for treason; but they refuse to accept his wager of battle.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ, volens appellare barones Pictaviæ de sua et fratris sui proditione, multos conduxit et secum duxit viros arte bellandi in duello doctos, et de terris suis cismarinis et transmarinis electos. Sed barones Pictaviæ inde præmuniti ad curiam illius venire noluerunt, dicentes quod nemini responderent nisi pari suo. Et sic rex Angliæ fraudatus a desiderio suo reversus est in Normanniam, et Pictavi facti sunt ei ex hoc inimiciores. Ad quorum impetum comprimendum constituit rex Angliæ Robertum de Turneham procuratorem.

Archdeacon Honorius prosecutes his claim

Eodem anno magister Honorius calumniatus est archidiaconatum de Richemund adversus Rogerum de

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[1] *Eodem anno*] MS. G. resumes.

[2] *Ulvestire*] Ulvestrie, I. Ulvestire, B.

[3] *captione*] captivitate, Savile. MS. G. reads *captione illa*, and omits all that follows to *appellationes suas*, p. 185, below; as do also MSS. B. C. D.

Sancto Eadmundo; super quo litteras a domino papa Innocentio in hac forma impetravit;[1]

A.D. 1201. against Roger of S. Edmund.

Epistola Innocentii papæ ad decanum et capitulum Eboraci pro magistro Honorio.

Innocent III. orders the dean and chapter of York to uphold Honorius in possession of the archdeaconry.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis "decano et capitulo Eboraci, salutem et apostolicam bene- "dictionem. Significavit nobis dilectus filius magister Ho- "norius, archidiaconus Richemundiæ, quod, cum venerabili "fratri nostro Eboracensi archiepiscopo exhibuerit obsequium "gratæ devotionis in multis, archiepiscopus ei retribuens mala "pro bonis, et odium pro dilectione rependens, eum contra "dignitates et libertates archidiaconatus multipliciter moles- "tavit; tandem, ut eum læderet amplius, et fortius aggravaret, "Rogerum de Sancto Edmundo clericum, cum quo idem ma- "gister Honorius compositionem inierat, adversarium susci- "tavit eidem, qui eum, occasione litterarum ad dilectos filios "Sancti Edmundi[2] et de Sibbetun abbates, et priorem de "Norwico[3] obtentarum, tacita veritate, in pluribus inquietat. "Cum igitur nos prædictas litteras, ut per surreptionem ad "judices suspectos obtentas, curavimus revocare, discretioni "vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, atque præcipimus, "quatenus eundem magistrum Honorium in jure suo defen- "dere ac manutenere curetis, et taliter ei sicut confratri "vestro et socio assistatis, ut a nobis ex hoc merito com- "mendari possitis, et ipse vobis ex debito devotior reddatur."

Item epistola Innocentii papæ ad episcopum Eliensem, et archidiaconum Northamtoniæ.

Innocent III. writes to the bishop of Ely and the archdeacon of Northampton.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili "fratri Heliensi episcopo, et dilecto filio archidiacono Norham- "toniæ,[4] salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum venis- "sent ad sedem apostolicam dilecti filii magister Honorius "archidiaconus Richemundiæ, et magister Columbus[5] sub- "diaconus noster, et procuratores venerabilis fratris nostri "Eboracensis archiepiscopi, eos in consistorio nostro benigne

[1] *Eodem . . . impetravit*] omitted in I. with the following letters down to p. 185.

[2] Sampson.

[3] Gerard.

[4] *archidiacono Norhamtoniæ*] Richard Kentensis, subdean of Lincoln.

[5] *Columbus*] See above, p. 98.

A.D. 1201.

Archdeacon Honorius has appealed to Rome against the archbishop, who has withheld from him the right of institution and the guardianship of vacant churches within his archdeaconry.

The archbishop's answer.

Honorius's reply.

" duximus audiendos. Fuit ex parte archiepiscopi memorati " propositum, quod institutio personarum et custodia ecclesiarum vacantium ad eum in diocesi sua spectat, tam de jure " communi quam ex consuetudine generali. Verum quidam " prædecessores ipsius quibusdam archidiaconis tam institutionem quam custodiam personaliter commiserunt, eas sibi " alicujus tempore retinentes, et libere, sicut spectabat ad " eos, utentes eisdem; ita quod archiepiscopus, qui Eboracensi " ecclesiæ modo præest, quondam[1] archidiacono Richemundiæ " illas ad preces inclytæ recordationis Ricardi regis Anglorum " de gratia speciali concessit; et eo in episcopum post electo " sibi retinuit tanquam suas. Cumque archidiaconatum illum " prædicto magistro intenderet assignare, tam ante concessionem quam in concessione ipsius expressit, quod tam institutiones sibi quam custodias reservabat. Cui archidiaconus " ipse respondit, quod contra Deum ageret, et juri canonico " derogaret, si institutiones ecclesiarum sibi usurpare præsumeret, quæ soli archiepiscopo competebant. Deinde libertatibus ipsis renuncians, renunciationem suam redegit in " scriptis: et ad majorem cautelam sigillo proprio roboravit, " ac tandem quod eis se nullatenus immisceret, corporaliter " præstitit sacramentum. Ad hæc autem archidiaconus ipse " respondit, quod cum inclytæ recordationis primus Henricus " rex Angliæ apud Carleolum sedem episcopalem vellet de " novo creari, quia ex hoc archidiaconatus Richemundiæ " lædebatur, rex ipse a bonæ memoriæ quondam Eboracensi " archiepiscopo postulavit, ut in recompensationem cujusdam " partis, quæ subtrahebatur archidiaconatui memorato, ei prædictas concederet dignitates. Archiepiscopus autem annuit " precibus postulantis, et tam institutiones quam custodias, " non personaliter archidiacono qui tunc erat, sed perpetuo, " de consensu Eboracensis capituli, archidiaconatui reali et " liberali concessione donavit. Cum autem archidiaconatus " ipse in continua possessione tam istarum quam aliarum " etiam libertatum, multorum archiepiscoporum, regum et " archidiaconorum temporibus exstitisset, et sæpe dictus " archiepiscopus sine conditione qualibet concessisset ipsum " eidem, post concessionem asseruit quod ipsum cum omnibus libertatibus suis concesserat, institutionibus et custodiis " ecclesiarum vacantium exceptis. Ipse vero consuetudinem " ejusdem archiepiscopi plene noscens, scilicet quod sicut daret " de facili, sic pœnitere leviter consuevit; ac timens ne, si " negaret expresse, cum nondum archidiaconatus possessionem

[1] *quondam*] condam, A.

" esset adeptus, vel impediretur penitus factum ejus, vel " diutius differretur, respondit, quod non solum de illo, sed " de omnibus reditibus suis, faceret quod archiepiscopo com- " placeret. Postmodum vero possessionem archidiaconatus " ingressus, libere libertatibus ipsis est usus, sicut præde- " cessores ejus facere consueverant. Consequenter vero cum " archiepiscopus eum archidiaconatu ipso contra justitiam " spoliasset, nec restitutionem ejus potuisset aliquatenus obti- " nere, nisi per cartam renunciaret libertatibus memoratis, " ipse jus suum durare cognoscens, litteras renunciationis " spoliatus adhuc archiepiscopo ipsi dedit sigillo proprio robo- " ratas; sed illas, sicut est propositum ex adverso, nullatenus " abjuravit;[1] immo restitutionis beneficium assecutus, usus est " eisdem libertatibus sicut prius, licet idem archiepiscopus " ipsum et clericos ejus super illis et aliis post appellationem " legitime interpositam multipliciter aggravaret. Unde cum " prædictarum concessio libertatum non fuerit sicut personalis " personæ, sed sicut realis personarii magis facta, non gratia " specialiter concedebantur alicui; sed ex debito potius cum " archidiaconatu pariter tradebantur ad cujus integritatem " tanquam in recompensationem dote proculdubio pertinebant. " Propter quod, etsi aliquis archiepiscopus eis forsan usus " fuerit, dum archidiaconatum in suis manibus retinebat, " nullum propter hoc archidiaconatui est præjudicium gene- " ratum, cum intelligantur postmodum in ipsa concessæ. Præ- " terea, cum in Turonensi concilio præbendarum, dignitatum, " beneficiorum sint inhibitæ sectiones[2]; et Lateranum[3] con- " cilium, ubi census novos imponi prohibet, et veteres aug- " mentari, subjungat, 'Ne partem reddituum aliqui suis usibus " 'appropriare præsumant;' patet archiepiscopum nec debuisse " nec potuisse archidiaconatum suis dignitatibus et liber- " tatibus mutilare. Nec est credendum quod ante conces- " sionem, vel in ipsa concessione actum fuerit, ut prædictas " libertates sibi archiepiscopus retineret, quia si alienum " sibi sic voluisset forsitan usurpare, commisisse videretur " Simoniacam pravitatem. Renunciatio autem archidiacono " nocere non potuit, cum renunciaverit spoliatus, et bonæ " memoriæ Alexander papa, prædecessor noster, renunciatio- " nem hujusmodi asseruerit non valere. Insuper cum, etsi " collatio archidiaconatus surrepserit[4] ad archiepiscopum me- " moratum, integritas tamen ad Eboracensis ecclesiæ pertinet

A.D. 1201. His complaint of the archbishop's spoilation of him.

He had forced from him a renunciation of his rights.

His arguments on this point.

[1] *abjuravit*] objuravit, A.

[2] *sectiones*] sanctiones, A. See *Concilia*, Labbe and Cossart, x. 1418.

[3] *Lateranum*] In 1179. See vol. ii. p. 175.

[4] *surrepserit*] scripseret, A.

A.D. 1201.

Argument of Honorius.

Rejoinder of the archbishop.

Further reply of Honorius.

The pope orders Honorius to be maintained in possession of the archdeaconry, and orders the bishop of Ely and archdeacon of Northampton to decide the other grounds of complaint.

"dignitatem, nec potuisset archiepiscopus vel archidiaconus "præter assensum et absque consilio Eboracensis capituli "ipsius archidiaconatus in tantum lædere dignitates vel liber-"tates. Super hæc pars replicavit adversa, quod etsi re-"nunciatio vel abjuratio archidiaconatui non noceret, per hæc "tamen esset[1] archidiacono repetendi facultas adempta. Sed "archidiaconus libertates illas se non repetere respondebat, "cum eis libere sicut prius, quando iter arripuit ad sedem "apostolicam veniendi, uteretur, et earum possessione gau-"deret. Adjecit etiam, quod cum archiepiscopus contra jus "constitutionis dignitatem turpiter retinendo mutilaverit, nec "super subsecuta renunciatione, vel etiam, si intercessisset, "adjuratione, tanquam suam allegans turpitudinem, contra "ipsum possessorem audiri deberet. Nos igitur, auditis quæ "fuerant hinc inde proposita, et plenius intellectis, interlocuti "sumus, archidiaconum esse in plena libertatum ejusdem "archidiaconatus possessione tuendum, donec probatum fue-"rit ex adverso, libertates ipsius ab archiepiscopis archidia-"conis fuisse concessas, cum in hoc casu,[2] tam ante quam "post, in ipsa etiam concessione archiepiscopus eas retinere "sibi potuit licite tanquam suas, vel donec legitime proba-"tum fuerit easdem libertates archidiaconum abjurasse. Sed "in hoc casu, si concessio fuit illa realis, archiepiscopo nihil "juris vel utilitatis accedat; quia nos ad petitionem Ebora-"censis ecclesiæ, vel per nosipsos, super hoc eidem archidia-"conatui consulemus. Si ergo alterutrum istorum legitime "fuerit propositum et comprobatum, archidiacono super li-"bertatibus ipsis; si neutrum, archiepiscopo silentium impo-"natur. Ideoque districte præcipimus, et per apostolica scripta "mandamus, quatenus[3] partibus convocatis, et auditis quæ "fuerint hinc inde proposita secundum formam expressam "in omnibus præcedentibus; sic tamen ut dum litis ingres-"sum, si quid circa prædictas libertates per archiepiscopum "vel suos post appellationem legitime interpositam, vel iter "arreptum, sit immutatum, in statum pristinum formetis, "appellatione remota; et causam ipsam, sublato appellationis "obstaculo, fine debito terminetis, si consensu partium diffi-"nire non poteritis; alioquin causam ipsam plene instructam "ad nos referatis."[4]

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[1] *esset*] om. Savile.

[2] *casu*] quam, ins. A.

[3] *quatenus*] qua, A.

[4] *referatis*] MS. A. has here a blank space of two lines, apparently intended for the insertion of a rubric.

A.D. 1201.

"Si[1] ad actiones venerabilis fratris nostri Eboracensis archiepiscopi respectum debitum haberemus, et ei vellemus pro meritis respondere, non solum nocendi adimeremus licentiam, sed auctoritatem etiam minueremus ipsius, qui gravaminibus abutitur subjectorum. Qualiter enim et quamdiu dilectum filium magistrum[2] Honorium, archidiaconum Richemundiæ, vexaverit, quem suæ litteraturæ ac suæ probitatis intuitu debuerat honorare, ipsius archidiaconi nobis conquestio patefecit: cum et ipsum, sicut asserit, aliquando archidiaconatu suo spoliaverit sine causa, et in eum ac clericos ejus et alios etiam frequenter excommunicationis et suspensionis sententiam præcipitet, pro motu propriæ voluntatis. Unde si eidem archidiacono sufficienter curaremus providere, eum ab ipsius archiepiscopi jurisdictione in perpetuum eximere curaremus, sicut aliquis prædecessorum nostrorum etiam suis temporibus quosdam exemisse dinoscitur, Volentes tamen sic archidiacono providere ne ipsius archiepiscopi auctoritatem ad præsens imminuamus, vobis mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus ipsum archiepiscopum auctoritate nostra moneatis attentius, et indicatis, ne in ipsum archidiaconum, vel clericos ejus aut laicos, vel ecclesias archidiaconatus sui, sententias excommunicationis, suspensionis, seu interdicti, sine manifesta et rationabili causa proferre, et non nisi rationabiliter, non præsumat. Quod si fecerit, vos sententias taliter latas, appellatione remota, nostra freti auctoritate, ipso jure denuncietis irritas et inanes; ipsum archidiaconum et suos contra insolentias archiepiscopi in posterum attentius defensuri, in irritum, appellatione remota, revocantes quicquid contra eos duxerit temere attentandum. Nos vero, si monitis vestris parere contempserit, non sine confusione ipsius et dedecore, et suis, sufficienter curabimus providere."

The pope explains the wrongs inflicted by archbishop Geoffrey on archdeacon Honorius.

He commands the recipients to forbid the archbishop to excommunicate him or his adherents.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum, etc., Johanni illustri regi Anglorum, etc. Interest regiæ celsitudinis ecclesias et viros ecclesiasticos in suo jure tueri, et malignantium impetus ab eorum molestationibus potenter et regulariter effrænare. Cum itaque dilectus filius magister Honorius, archidiaconus Richemundiæ, usque adeo vir lit-

Innocent III. writes to John on the case of Honorius.

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[1] This is a new letter, although printed in Savile as a continuation of the last; but it seems to be addressed to the same persons.

[2] *magistrum*] om. Savile.

A.D. 1201. He is to be upheld in his possession of the archdeaconry.

" teratus et honestus existat, ut ex scientia et honestate ipsius " non solum Eboracensi ecclesiæ honor accrescat, sed et tibi " etiam utile possit obsequium pervenire; serenitatem tuam " rogamus, monemus, et exhortamur in Domino eo attentius, " quod non minus diligenter quam fideliter negotiis a tua " serenitate sibi injunctis in curia nostra cognoscimus indulsisse, " quatenus eum in sua justitia manuteneas et defendas, nec " permittas ipsum vel clericos suos contra libertates archi- " diaconatus Richemundiæ per alicujus inquietantiam aggra- " vari. Vale."

A.D. 1200. Dec. 20.

Innocent III. understands that cardinal Peter committed the decision of the case of Honorius against Roger of S. Edmund to the bishop, dean, and sub-dean of Lincoln.

" Accedens[1] ad præsentiam nostram dilectus filius Honorius, " archidiaconus Richemundiæ, oblata nobis petitione monstra- " vit, quod cum olim dilecto filio P., Sanctæ Mariæ in Via " Lata diacono cardinali, apostolicæ sedis legato, causas, quæ " contra illos proponebantur, qui intrusi fuerant in præbendas " et dignitates Eboracensis ecclesiæ, commiserimus terminan- " das, ipse tamen [eam] quæ vertebatur contra Rogerum de " Sancto Edmundo super archidiaconatu Richemundiæ, vene- " rabili fratri nostro episcopo, et dilectis filiis decano et " subdecano[2] Lincolniensi audiendam commisit, diffinita sibi " sententia reservata. Sed cum ipsi servato juris ordine usque " ad diffinitivam sententiam processissent, mediante tandem " Eboracensi capitulo, inter ipsum Honorium archidiaconum " et prædictum Rogerum amicabilis et honesta compositio " intercessit, quam se promisit utraque partium juramento " præstito servaturam. Postmodum autem idem Rogerus, de " facta compositione et interpositione juramenti, ratione non " habita,[3] litteras a nobis ad vos contra prædictum archi- " diaconum impetravit, qui eum, sicut asserit, voluistis in " multis contra justitiam aggravare. Dicit enim quod, cum " ad ostendendas exceptiones legitimas ad nostram præsentiam " accessisset, et te, fili, abbas de Sancto Edmundo, tanquam sus- " pectum penitus recusaret, tum quia idem nimia est tibi fami- " liaritate conjunctus et se tuum esse asserit consanguineum, " tum etiam nihilominus quia præfato archidiacono circa idem

Roger afterwards obtained letters against Honorius, directed to the recipients of this letter.

[1] This letter is addressed to Sampson abbot of S. Edmund's, Gerard prior of Norwich (1185–1201), and the abbot of Sibton in Suffolk, but the rubric is wanting as well as the salutation in the only MS. which contains the letters.

[2] *subdecano*] The archdeacon of Northampton mentioned above, p. 177.

[3] *habita*] hæc ita, A.

"negotium manifeste studueras et adversari pro[1] prædicto "Rogero, carissimo in Christo filio nostro Johanni illustri regi "Angliæ, et venerabili fratri nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo "supplicando, cum exceptionem hujusmodi se coram electis "judicibus assereret probaturum; vos, fili, abbas de Sibbetono, "et prior Norwicensis, pronunciare, ut dicitur, præsumpsistis. "Præterea cum de fructibus archidiaconatus indeterminate "in nostris litteris mentio haberetur, vos edictionis benefi"cium ei[2] contra leges et canones denegastis. Iterum cum "memoratus archidiaconus præfatum adversarium suum ex"communicatum esse in nostra præsentia objecisset, et hoc "vellet probare infra terminum competentem, et præparare "corporaliter juramentum, quod hoc frustrante causa dilationis "non peteret, vos ipsum, inhibita exceptione, audiendum non "esse pronunciastis, nisi quod objecerat, probaret incontinenti. "Cumque in his et aliis se a nobis cognosceret contra jus"titiam aggravari, idem archidiaconus nostram audientiam "appellavit, et ad appellationem prosequendam iter arripuit "veniendi. Sed vos, sicut dicitur, a cognitione causæ post "appellationem objectam minime destitistis, super ea in ipsius "archidiaconi gravamen[3] et præjudicium procedentes. Cum"que neminem velimus contra justitiam aggravari, et sic in "causarum cognitione seu decisione procedi, quod neutri par"tium justa remaneat materia murmurandi, discretioni vestræ "per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus si in litteris, "quas præfatus Rogerus ad vos impetravit a nobis, factæ com"positionis super archidiaconatu et interpositi juramenti men"tio non habetur, quia eas per suppressionem veritatis ob"tinuit, cum juxta canonicas sanctiones mendax precator "carere debeat impetratis, litteras ipsam vires volumus non "habere. Si etiam vos exceptiones legitimas prædicti archidia"coni admittere noluistis, et præsumpsistis post appellationem "legitime interpositam in causa procedere memorata, volumus "nihilominus, et mandamus, ut ab ipsius causæ prosecutione "penitus desistentes, quod per vos factum est, denuncietis "penitus irritum et inane. Volumus enim quod causa ipsa "talibus judicibus committatur, qui neutri partium debeant "esse suspecti, vel coram nobis, mediante justitia, terminetur. "Quod si forte vos mandatum nostrum exsequi neglexeritis, "alicujus interveniente gratia vel timore, noveritis nos vene"rabili fratri nostro episcopo Rovensi, et dilectis filiis abbati

A.D. 1200.

Honorius objected to the abbot of S. Edmund's as judge delegate, yet the other two gave sentence in spite of his objection. He complains of their conduct on other grounds.

They had proceeded to hear the case after Honorius had appealed to the pope.

If Honorius's statements are true, they are to desist from taking part in the matter.

[1] *pro*] om. Savile.
[2] *ei*] ea, A.
[3] *gravamen*] gratiam, Savile.

A.D. 1200. Dec. 20. The bishop of Rochester, the abbot of Boxley, and the prior of Leeds are to decide it.

"Foxl.[1] et priori de Ledes[2] dedisse nostris litteris in mandatis, ut "ipsi, veritate cognita, quæ mandavimus, sublato cujuslibet con-"tradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, exsequantur. Data La-"terani, xiii°. kalendas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno tertio."

Item de eodem.

The pope writes to the clergy and laity of the archdeaconry of Richmond.

"Innocentius papa, abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, personis, "vicecomitibus, et clericis et laicis per archidiaconatum "Richemundiæ constitutis, salutem. Exposuit nobis dilectus "filius magister Honorius, archidiaconus vester, quod cum "archidiaconatum Richemundiæ canonice fuisset adeptus, et "aliquamdiu pacifice[3] possedisset, orta postmodum inter eum "et venerabilem fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum[4] Eboracen-"sem discordia, Rogerus de Sancto Edmundo clericus, ar-"chidiaconum Richemundiæ se nominans, ad dilectos filios "Sancti Edmundi[5] et Sancti Benedicti de Holmo[6] abbates, "et priorem de Toftes,[7] prædictorum tacita veritate, litteras "impetravit, ut vos ad exhibendam ei obedientiam et reve-"rentiam debitam, et satisfaciendum de damnis illatis, moni-"tione præmissa, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione "remota, cogere non differrent. Quia vero mendax precator "carere debet secundum sanctiones legitimas impetratis, "universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque "præcipimus, quatenus cum litteras illas mandaverimus re-"vocari tanquam ad suspectos judices, per suppressionem "veritatis et falsitatis expressionem obtentas, eis non obstanti-"bus, jura ejus inviolabiliter conservantes, ipsi et officialibus "suis, appellatione remota, obedientiam exhibeatis debitam, "et honorem, sicut eam impendebatis eidem, priusquam idem "archidiaconus iter arriperet ad sedem apostolicam veniendi. "Alioquin sententiam, quatenus ipse vel officiales sui in vos "propter hoc rationabiliter duxerint proferendam, ratam haberi "volumus, et inviolabiliter observari."

Roger of S. Edmund has obtained letters on false pretences.

These letters are recalled.

Honorius is to be regarded as archdeacon.

A.D. 1201. The judges delegate re-

His igitur et aliis domini papæ litteris, quas Honorius prætendebat, Rogero de Sancto Edmundo respondente,

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[1] *Foxl.*] So MS. A. No doubt we should read "Boxl." and identify the person with the abbot of Boxley, Robert, whose name occurs several times in the *Epp. Cantuar.*

[2] *de Ledes*] deled, A. The prior of Leeds in Kent.

[3] *pacifice*] pascivice, A.

[4] *archiepiscopum*] archidiaconum, A.

[5] *Sancti Edmundi*] Sampson, 1182–1212.

[6] *Sancti Benedicti de Holmo*] Ralph, 1186–1210.

[7] *Toftes*] Monk's Toft in Norfolk was a cell of the monastery of S. Paul at Préaux in Normandy. *Mon. Angl.*, vi. 1027.

supradicti judices delegati, propter appellationes hinc et inde factas, et propter testium varietates, causam ipsam, utcunque poterant instructam, ad dominum papam miserunt determinandam:[1] et ipsi Honorius et Rogerus prosecuti sunt appellationes suas.

A.D. 1201. for the settlement back to the pope.

Eodem anno[2] *G., summus magister Hospitalis Jerusalem, priori et fratribus suis per Angliam constitutis, in hac forma scripsit.*

" Magister Hospitalis Jerusalem priori Angliæ.[3] Quemadmodum rumores proveniunt, ita eos cupimus cordibus amicorum nostrorum intimari. Transacti itaque passagii lugendo tempore de solito rumores terræ Jerosolimitanæ mittebamus; sed navi confracta in maritima Tripolis ante Biblium, Aconensis[4] episcopus, et plures viri honestissimi fratrum nostrorum ad vos pro negotio Terræ Sanctæ destinati, cum multis tam nobilibus quam humilibus peregrinis, ad dolorem et gemitum totius populi Christiani, sicut Domino placuit, sub aquis vehementibus perierunt. Post quod naufragium nullum putamus transfretasse navigium, ut dicitur ab omnibus: quia quædam naves, in quibus nuncii nostri mittebantur, transfretare disponentes, cum ab Acone[5] recessissent, et per triduum et amplius navigassent, amissis arboribus antennis insolita ventorum et turbinis rabie, vix naufragium evadentes, Tripolim sunt reversæ. Ea tamen qua potuimus navigii opportunitate reperta, vestræ fraternitati declaramus, quod ille Christianorum hostis nequissimus, Damasci dominus Sephadinus,[6] Babilonis effectus est dominus; quia nepotem suum et alios, quorum successionem timebat, de regno Babilonis, ut perfidus et perjurus, ejecit. Viget adhuc inter ipsum, et soldanum Aleph,[7] et plures

The master of the hospital reports very sad news from Palestine.

Shipwrecks on the coast.

Saffadin has become sultan of Egypt.

[1] *determinandam*] The final sentence of Pope Innocent III., in favour of Honorius against Roger of S. Edmund's, is dated June 1, 1202; and may be found in Baluze's edition of Innocent's letters, vol. i. p. 643, with other letters on the subject addressed to the king and to the dean and chapter.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Here MSS. B. C. D. I. resumes; also MS. G. Godfrey de Duisson was now Master of the Hospital.

[3] *Angliæ*] salutem, ins. B.

[4] *Aconensis*] Acconensis, B. I.

[5] *Acone*] Accone, B. I.

[6] *Sephadinus*] Sapfadinus, I.; Saphadinus, B. Saphadin drove his nephew Malek-el-Afdal out of Damascus in 1196; and his great-nephew Malek-el-Mansour out of Egypt in 1200.

[7] *soldanum Aleph*] Malek-ed-Daher Gaiatheddin Ghazi, son of Saladin, was sultan of Aleppo from 1193 to 1216.

A.D. 1201.

War between Saffadin and his relations.

"alios nimia discordia, quæ fine careat, et nunquam decidat "vel arescat. Ipse quoque Sephadinus, suis odibilis et in"festus, domesticas timet insidias, et in nullo loco tutum se "credens, utpote qui nepotibus suis proditor exstitit et per"jurus, quos etiam funditus quotidie exhæredare conatur, "Babiloniam exire non audet. Quæ res nobis hoc anno mu"nimen præstitit et tutelam. Paraverat enim contra nos "tumidus et intolerabilis insilire, et Christianitatis, quæ su"perfuerant, funditus demoliri reliquias. Percussit etiam "Deus virga potentiæ Suæ Babilonicas regiones, in flumine "illo Paradisi quod agros hostium irrigabat, ne flueret, nec "anno præterito fluctus emisit. Propter quod in fame pe"reunt, et eorum animalia perdiderunt, nec plures eorum "veriti sunt pater filium vendere, dives pauperem, potens "debilem, ut sic vitam suam a fame conservent: quam sicci"tatem fluminis, si non fluxerit, futuram timent. Hoc etiam "quisquis excogitet sapiens, quod si flumen nutu Dei præ"senti anno non fluxerit,[1] arva non irrigaverit,[2] in magno "discrimine vitæ suæ erunt. Quorum jam infinita multitudo "necessitate compulsa, et famis austeritate, terram nostram, "sicut locustarum agmina, replevit pro sustinendis corporibus "suis: ubi quidam terras ecclesiæ moliuntur; quidam more "bestiarum sylvestribus herbis vescuntur; quidam fame ne"cati per loca sylvestria mirative reperiuntur vermibus et "avibus comedendi. Nos igitur in Domino ponentes spem "nostram, Qui, quando vult,[3] præliis finem ponit, speramus "quod populo Christiano dat initium miserendi, cum ipso"rum conterit[4] inimicos. Datur etiam gentibus materies ad"mirandi, quod quidam Sarracenus, ætate juvenis, origine "vilis, inter pastores a pueritia simpliciter[5] nutritus,[6] de novo "sic omnibus peritus apparet, ut omnes sapientiam ejus admi"rentur, et nomen Jesu Christi publice prædicat: ita quod ipsi "jam duo millia paganorum et eo amplius concredentes, ejus "exhortationibus fidem nostram susceperunt, et fonte sacri "baptismatis sunt recreati,[7] et circumcisionis suæ condolent se "sustinuisse dolorem. Immenso tamen inimici nostri exultant "gaudio, quia nos paucos sciunt, et pecunia pauperes, et "armatorum copia sentiunt derelictos. Quapropter ad vos "voce lamentabili clamamus, et misericorditer exoramus, "quatenus nobis, tam apud majores quam minores, consilio "et auxilio vestro subvenire dignemini, et dominum regem

Plagues sent on his kingdom of Egypt.

This is an opportunity for the Christian powers.

Rise of a Saracen who preaches Christ.

Want of money.

[1] *fluxerit*] fluxerunt, B. I.
[2] *irrigavreit*] irrigaverunt, A.B.I.
[3] *vult*] om. I.
[4] *conterit*] conteret, I.
[5] *simpliciter*] simplicia, A.
[6] *nutritus*] eruditus, G.
[7] *recreati*] renati, D; regenerati, B.

"Angliæ, et quoscunque poteritis, ad subvectionem nostram "efficaciter inducere, et diligenter monere procuretis. Nos "enim infinitas trementes divitias, cum sibi propter opes "multorum subveniant mercimonia mercatorum, non minus "solito timore conterimur universi; et cum de uno tantum "regno Babilonis, aut Damasci, universus Terræ Promissionis "populus vix bene se tueri solebat; nunc duo regna uni "domino conjugata, nobis tantilli residui numeri terrorem "pariunt et minantur. Hic est certe verus status Terræ "Promissionis, et inimicorum Christi; quo taliter permanente, "si bonum Christianorum haberemus auxilium, gratia propi-"tiante cœlesti, et Christi injurias et dedecus Christianorum "crederemus vindicare. Propterea, bone frater, quia pauca "dicere sufficit, satis novistis quæ et quanta nobis incumbunt "necessaria; et nunc audite quid ultra modum nos affligit. "Terra regni Siciliæ jugiter destruitur a Teutonicis[1] et "Longobardis; domus nostra Baroli relicta fuerit; fratres "intus in civitate manent; domus extrinsecæ, a quibus auxi-"lium nostrum procedebat, ad nihilum deductæ sunt, nullus "in civitate persistit. Postquam autem a terra recessistis, "nihil de regno Siciliæ nobis subvenit, ad præsens jam et per "annum, frumentum, vinum et hordeum, carnes et caseum, et "quæque necessaria emimus pro universis domibus et castris "nostris, in quibus omnibus sine numero necessaria est ex-"pensa. Pecuniam nisi ab ultramarinis domibus receperimus, "aliunde aliter habere nequimus, et jam diu est quod nihil "fere recepimus ad comparationem expensæ. Noveritis quod "in debitis plurimis subjacemus: exspectantes auxilium ves-"trum, et aliorum bonorum fratrum nostrorum, amore Divino "et nostro vos monemus, ut quantumcunque poteritis, in "primo Martii passagio subveniatis. Valete."

A.D. 1201. Appeal for help.

Wretched state of the possessions of the Hospitallers: their Sicilian revenue being cut off.

Quibus auditis, dominus papa Innocentius misit unum cardinalem ad regem Franciæ, et ad regem Angliæ, postulans subsidium fieri de terris eorum, ad subvectionem terræ Jerosolimitanæ. Ad cujus mandatum, ipsi reges concesserunt se daturos, ad subvectionem præfatæ terræ, quadragesimam partem omnium redituum suorum de uno anno. Et rex Angliæ hoc ipsum mandavit fieri de reditibus et excaetis et wardis suis Angliæ: et præcepit ut omnes laici terrarum suarum simili modo quadragesimam partem redituum suorum darent in eleemosynam ad subvectionem terræ Jero-

The pope sends a cardinal to John and Philip.

John orders a levy of a fortieth to be exacted for the relief of Palestine.

[1] *Teutonicis*] Theutonicis, B. 1.

A.D. 1201. solimitanæ.[1] Unde Galfridus [2] Filius Petri, tunc temporis summus justitiarius Angliæ, in hac forma scripsit vicecomitibus et ballivis Angliæ;

Epistola Galfridi Filii Petri ad vicecomites et ballivos Angliæ, de quadragesima parte redituum regis et laicorum colligenda in subvectionem terræ Jerosolimitanæ.

Letter of the Justiciar directing the collection of the fortieth for the relief of Palestine.

"Galfridus Filius Petri, comes Excessæ, universis vicecomitibus balliæ suæ, salutem. Sciatis quod dominus rex Angliæ, ad instantiam et prædicationem cujusdam cardinalis a summo pontifice missi in Franciam, de consilio magnatum suorum de partibus transmarinis concessit ad sanctæ Jerosolimæ subsidium quadragesimam portionem [3] valoris omnium redituum et terrarum suarum unius anni, tam de wardis quam de excaetis in manu sua existentibus. Quod etiam ipsi magnates sui ultra mare voluntarie concesserunt. Ad eorum etiam instantiam scripsit dominus rex omnibus Angliæ magnatibus per litteras patentes, rogans et inducens eos, quatenus puro corde, et caritatis intuitu, illud idem de valore omnium redditium et terrarum suarum unius anni concederent; quod quidem nec debito, nec de consuetudine, nec de cohertione,[4] nec de aliqua alia auctoritate apostolica conceditur vel postulatur. Unde præcepit quod omnes comites et barones de qualibet ballia in primis admoneantur et inducantur diligenter, quatenus pro se hanc collectam faciant in terris suis hoc modo; scilicet, ut quilibet quadragesimam partem valoris cujuslibet villæ suæ, sicut posset poni ad firmam per annum; et si in eadem villa fuerint per servitium militare tenentes, dent quadragesimam portionem modo prædicto; si autem fuerint libere tenentes, similiter dent eandem portionem modo prædicto, computato redditu, quem dominis suis solverint per annum.

System on which the money is to be collected.

Hanc autem collectam colligi faciant per tam discretos et legales, qui ad hoc possint et sciant sufficere, qui eam recipiant [5] tam de comitibus quam de baronibus prædictis. Et postquam per manus eorum fuerit collecta, receptores prædictæ collectæ faciant in scriptum redigi distincte, et aperte, quantum de quolibet receperint, tam de comitibus quam de baronibus, et militibus et libere tenen-

[1] *Jerosolimitanæ*] Here MS. G. ends, with the rubric, *Expliciunt Chronica Magistri R. de Houedene.*

[2] *Galfridus*] Gaufridus, B. I.

[3] *portionem*] partem, Savile.

[4] *cohertione*] coactione, Savile.

[5] *recipiant*] recipient, B. I.

"tibus; et nomina singulorum, et villarum, quantumcunque "de singulis villis, et quorum quælibet sit, imbreviari faciant. "Summam autem de dominicis, et de wardis et[1] excaetis, et "redditibus domini regis, faciant separatim imbreviari. Si "quis vero clericus laicum feodum habuerit in ballia aliqua, "vel homines tenentes laicum feodum; in eorum terris fiat "hæc collecta per prædictos collectores modo prædicto. De "terris autem cruce signatorum prædicta collecta fiat modo "prædicto, ita tamen quod eorum pecunia separatim reponatur "ab alia; et summa pecuniæ, et nomina singulorum quorum "ipsa pecunia fuerit, subscribantur; ut illi, qui iter arripu-"erint, pecuniam suam prompte recipiant. Provideatur autem "quod pecunia illa sit collecta, ita quod unusquisque vice-"comes simul cum collectoribus habeat eam apud Novum "Templum Lundoniæ a die Sancti Hilarii in quindecim dies, "et imbreviamentum[2] modo prædicto ordinatum, videlicet, de "summa pecuniæ, et nominibus eorum qui eam dederint, et "nominibus villarum de quibus data fuerit pecunia prædicta, "et quantum de qualibet datum fuerit. Si qui autem contra-"dixerint huic collectæ assensum præbere, nomina eorum im-"brevientur,[3] et coram nobis repræsententur apud Lundonias "ad terminum prædictum, et hoc breve et nomina collecto-"rum ibidem habeantur. Valete."[4] A.D. 1201.

The reports to be made at London on the 27th of January.

[1] *et*] de, ins. I.

[2] *imbreviamentum*] cum, ins. I.

[3] *imbrevientur*] imbreviantur, A.

[4] *Valete*] Valete, valete et pacem habete, D. I. Two MSS., C. and D., contain, after the letter of the Justiciar, the following addition, in a hand of the seventeenth century: probably, however, taken from some earlier source,—

"Mirabilia plura per Angliam "evenerunt; sanguine vel ex ves-"tibus vel ex aliis rebus per se stil-"lante. Aeris etiam intemperies, "fulgura, et pluviarum inundati-"ones. Cornagium per Angliam "exactum est ut regi Franciæ de-"narii pro pace firmata procuraren-"tur. *Expliciunt Chronica Rogeri* "*de Houedon.*"

MS. D. contains also, on the last page of the Chronicle, immediately after the note given above, and in the same hand as the Chronicle, the following:—

Littera cujusdam magnatis scribentis ad quendam magnatem amicum suum in principio werræ inter regem Johannem Angliæ et barones.

. . "Salutem. Sciatis quod comes "Gloucestriæ et comes Wintoniæ "venerunt Londonias die proxima "post Epiphaniam. Venerunt au-"tem cum ipsis Baldewinus Brutel, "et Willelmus Pusin, Mariscallus "domini Lodowici, et frater ducis "Luvaniæ, et frater vicecomitis de "Melon, qui tenentur de melioribus "bacheleriis Franciæ, cum octies "xx. militum et amplius de meliori-"bus torniatoribus Franciæ, et cum "xl. balestariis equestribus, et cum "c. ballestariis pedestribus; et cum "multis servientibus, equestribus et

NOTE—*continued.*

" pedestribus; quorum numerum " ad præsens nescio. Sciatis etiam " pro vero et nullam inde dubitati- " onem habeatis, quod dominus Lo- " dowicus veniet in Anglia cum " copiosa multitudine gentium; et " juravit quod erit ad mare, promp- " tus ad transfretandum, ad ulti- " mum in octavis Sancti Hylarii. " Adducet vero secum ducem de Bar " et de Navers, et comitem Britan- " niæ, et vicecomitem de Melon, et " comitem Sancti Pauli, et ducem " de Breban, et ducem Burgundien- " sem, et Willelmum de Rupibus, et " Willelmum de Bares, et comitem " Willelmum, qui in patria sua " promptus est jam veniendi in " Anglia, et plures alios duces, co- " mites, et magnates, quorum nomina " nescio. Unde multum timeo quod " dominus rex non habeat potesta- " tem ei resistendi cum venerit; " cum tanta enim veniet potestate, " quod timeo quod terra omnino " destruatur. Item vero dat terras " eorum qui contra ipsum sunt, ut " per ipsos qui de eo veniunt mihi " datur intelligi. Adventus autem " ejus per nullum mandatum quod " de Roma possit venire aliquo mo- " do poterit impediri: quia pater " ipsius credit habere totum consi- " lium Romanum et ipsum penes se. " Idem etiam rex misit quendam " virum religiosum ad regem diffi- " dandum, imponens ei quod treu- " gas Pictaviæ infregit, per lx. " millia marcarum quas de merca- " toribus suis accepit. Dictum est " autem postea, quod jam venerit et " dimiserit hostem suum in tres " partes et quod a Londoniis amo- " verunt se."

Hæc sunt nomina baronum qui capti sunt in civitate Lincolniæ in werra prædicta.

Comes Wintoniæ Serlo, et Robertus filius ejus; Robertus filius Walteri; Willelmus de Mubrai, et Robertus frater ejus; Gilbertus de Gant, et Mauricius frater ejus; Gerardus de Fornival; Robertus de Greili; Ricardus de Munfichet; Willelmus de Ros; Simon de Kinde; Robertus de Roppelege; Johannes de Bassingeburne; Walterus de Tiwe; Hugo de Renou, baro Franciæ; et comes Perticæ ibi occisus fuit ex parte illa, et Robertus de Tibbetot miles comitis de Ferreres occisus erat ex parte regis. Et cum istis baronibus capti fuerunt centum quinquaginta milites tam de Angligenis quam de Francis, quorum nomina fuerunt scripta, exceptis hiis qui securius et privatim undique adducti sunt per regnum. Isti autem evaserunt; Johannes de Laci, constabularius Cestriæ; Willelmus de Mandevile; Symon de Persi; Galfridus de Lucy; et circiter sexaginta milites cum dextrariis sine armis. Et sciendum quod multi alii capti sunt pro voluntate et ad placitum quorum numerus ignoratur. Postea capti fuerunt comes Herefordiæ; Willelmus de Huntingfeud; Gilbertus de Clare; Henricus filius comitis David, et multi alii infra villam; et tota civitas robbata infra ecclesiam et extra. Et sic cito postea terminata est werra et Lodovicus a sententia excommunicationis qua fuerat innodatus absolutus ab Anglia recessit et in Flandria applicuit. Valete.

THE END.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Aeria, ii. 244; an eyrie.

Agistare, ii. 246; to turn the cattle into the woods to feed.

Agistamentum, ii. 246; the right of feeding in the woods.

Albergellum, ii. 253; a coat of mail.

Alevoso, ii. 126; a Spanish word for *traitor*.

Alligera, ii. 297; the Hejira.

Astridelthot, ii. 231; a corrupt word, probably meaning "a three-" fold bot or compensation."

Ategar, i. 91; a lance or dart.

Averus, iii. 275; a farm horse.

B.

Bren, iii. 60; bran.

Broca, iv. 99; a tap.

Brom, iii. 72; the Italian *Bruma*, a sea-worm that perforates ships.

Brueria, ii. 243; Moorland.

Bucia, iii. 39; **Buscia**, 106; a transport vessel.

Butsecarla, i. 111; **Buzsecarla**, 158; **Buthsecarla**, 38; a boatman.

C.

Capelet, ii. 261; a head piece.

Cappa, ii. 93; a cope.

Carcare, iii. 251; to load.

Carvana, ii. 182; a caravan.

Cassata, i. 73; the land appropriated to a ceorl's tenement; a hide.

Casula, i. 6; a chasuble.

Ceptus, ii. 243; apparently, = coppatus, coppice.

Chiminum, ii. 223; a highway.

Cleptor, i. 56; a robber.

Colpo, iii. 245; a slice.

Coppatus, ii. 243; copse, coppice.

Costera, iii. 160; a coast.

D.

Decius, ii. 336; a die for gambling.

Demenium, iii. 265; demesne.

Districtæ, iii. 47, 129; straits; a defile.

Dorsale, i. 59; wall hangings, tapestry.

E.

Esbrancatura, ii. 243; lopping.

Essartum, ii. 243; a clearing in the forest.

Estreciatus, iv. 62; restricted; from the French *estrescer*.

Exlegare, i. 101; to outlaw.

F.

Falsoneria, ii. 89; forgery of coin or charters.

Forgia, ii. 244; a forge.

Frussura, ii. 243; the breaking of the soil for the first time.

G.

Grantum, iii. 218, = creantum, security (Du Cange).

H.

Haia, ii. 244; a hedge; an enclosure.

Herbergagium, ii. 244; herbage.

Hurdicius, ii. 73, 113; a hurdle; a siege engine.

Huscarl, i. 92, 107; a body-guard.

Hypocrisinus, i. 19; deceitful.

I.

Imprisa, ii. 67; undertaking.

Inbladare, Inbladiare, ii. 243; to sow with corn.

Indiscibilis, i. 70; inexplicable.

Inedicibilis, i. 66; unspeakable.

Insilium, i. 100; evil counsel.

Interranea, i. 66; the bowels.

Interrare, ii. 238; to bury, apparently without the rights of the Church.

Intertiare, ii. 229; to demand warranty of a person in whose hands stolen goods are found.

L.

Laceatus, ii. 337; laced or fringed.

Ledon, i. 13; neap-tide.

Lex, ii. 250, 251; the ordeal.

Leucata, iii. 60; the banlieue of a city.

Lisura, iv. 34; the selvage.

M.

Macherarius, ii. 238; a butcher.

Maisneda, ii. 97; the household.

Malina, i. 13; spring-tide.

Marabotinus, ii. 130; a maravedi.

Medianetum, ii. 124; arbitration.

Mineria, ii. 244; a mine.

Murdra, ii. 225; Murdredum, ii. 250; secret homicide.

N.

Namtire, ii. 146; to distrain.

O.

Ostigare, iii. 260; to release a prisoner under a security.

P.

Paagium, ii. 42, = pedagium, a toll.

Paga, iii. 142, = pagus, a district.

Palefridus, iii. 33 = Paraveredus; a riding horse.

Panagium, ii. 246; the privilege of turning swine into the woods.

Pario, i. 49; = paro, a pirate-ship.

Pasta, iii. 60; pastry.

Pedo, i. 39; a foot soldier.

Perperus, ii. 195; a Byzantine coin, worth half a mark.

Platoma, i. 15; = platonia; a slab of marble.

Prisa, ii. 5; a receipt; an exaction.

Priso, ii. 68; a prisoner.

Q.

Quintallus, iii. 165; a quintal; a weight of 100 pounds.

R.

Rech, iv. 99; immature wine (?).

Regrataria, iv. 100; sale by retail.

Reneez, iii. 180, a renegade.

Retare, ii. 89; to arraign.

Roberator, ii. 249 = Robator; a robber.

Roberia, ii. 89; robbery.

S.

Salma, iii. 60, 61; a seam, or quarter of grain.

Scitha, i. 66; diarrhœa.

Scotum, i. 141; payment, shot; in this place, taxation.

Siglatura, iii. 51; a sailing, a day's sail; from A.S. Segl, a sail.

Siminellus, iii. 245; a loaf of the second best bread, from *Simila*.

Solarium, i. 18, 92; a state chamber; a drawing room.

Speruarius, ii. 244; a sparrow-hawk.

Stafa, ii. 142; a stirrup.

Stolium, ii. 97; a fleet.

Subboscus, ii. 243; underwood.

Summarius, iii. 33; a pack-horse.

T.

Telon, i. 89 = Teloneum; a tax.

Teneatura, ii. 257; tenure, in the sense of possession.

Terrin, iii. 60; a Sicilian coin, the *tarenus* or *taris*, weighing 20 grains of gold.

Thesaurizarius, i. 105; a treasurer.

Timoratus, i. 65; having the fear of God.

Trabarium, i. 85; a boat cut out of the trunk of a tree.

Transvadare, i. 131; to wade across; to ford.

Tunellum, iv. 100; Tonellum, iv. 99; a wine cask.

U.

Urser, iii. 97; a large ship; in French, *Huissier*.

Uthlagatio, ii. 221; outlawry.

Uthlegatus, iii. 4; outlawed.

V.

Veredarius, i. 97; a courier.

W.

Wambasia, ii. 253; Wambais, 259; a coat of mail.

Wastellus, iii. 245; a cake; gâteau.

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LONDON:
Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
[750.—6/71.]